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PHONOLOGICAL VARIATION AND CHANGE IN IMMIGRANT SPEECH

A SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY OF A 1967 ARAB-ISRAELI WAR IMMIGRANT
SPEECH COMMUNITY IN DAMASCUS, SYRIA.

by

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July 1987

A Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirement for the Degree of Doctor of
Philosophy in Linguistics in the Department of English Language and Medieval Literature
at the University of Durham, England.



13 JAN 1988

bismilla:hi r-ra2ma:ni r-ra2i:m

In the Name of Allah, the Benificent, the Merciful

'wa min aya:tihi: xalqu l-sama:wa:ti wa-larDi,

waxtila:fu ?alsinatikum wa-?alwa:nikum, ?inna

fi: dha:lika la-?aya:tin lil-3a:limi:n.'

(Holy Quran XXX (Al-Room 'The Romans'): 22.

(Amongst His signs are the creation of the heavens and
the earth and the differences of your languages and colours;
in this there, surely, are landmarks for the well-learned.)

(My translation)

ABSTRACT

Zaidan Ali Jassem. *Phonological Variation and Change in Immigrant Speech: A Sociolinguistic Study of a 1967 Arab-Israeli War Immigrant Speech Community in Damascus, Syria*. Ph.D. Thesis (University of Durham). 1987.

This thesis follows the theoretical framework of the variable paradigm (Labov 1966, 1972a; Trudgill 1974; etc.) and is one of very few dissertations that is concerned with the investigation of immigrant speech patterns (Payne 1976, 1980; Bortoni-Ricardo 1985; Kerswill 1985). It attempts to describe the sociolinguistic situation of one immigrant speech community, known as al-FaDi, who have been living in the District of Damascus including the City itself, after their forced expulsion from their motherland, the Golan Heights, by the occupying Israeli forces in June 1967. The immigrants' speech situation involves three dialects, namely, one standard, and two vernaculars: i.e. the immigrants' own vernacular which they brought with them from the Golan Heights, and the local vernacular of the host areas. The immigrants variably utilize the three dialects in their everyday communications with one another and with other speakers especially those of the host areas. The predominant use of one variety rather than another largely depends on social and stylistic constraints.

While previous immigrant sociolinguistic studies have relied on the standard Labovian framework in interviewing informants and eliciting speech styles despite its criticisms and limitations (see Bell 1984; Wolfson 1976), the sociolinguistic speech repertoire of the immigrants in this study cannot be fully captured by the usual Labovian methodology as they were observed to adapt and switch their speech according to whether they conversed with speakers of (a) immigrant speech or (b) local speech. In the former, the immigrants' own vernacular was dominant and in the latter the local vernacular was switched to to a greater extent by most speakers. As the questionnaire-based interview is very limited in its capacity to obtain this type of speech accommodation, the immigrants were, therefore, recorded in non-questionnaire-based, free or open interviews or sessions. This mainly involved recording each immigrant informant with an immigrant and a local speaker, though separately. All in all, four speech styles were isolated: immigrant-to-immigrant style (LLS), immigrant-to-local style (ILS), word list style (WLS), and Quranic recitation styles (QRS), the latter being administered to illiterate speakers only who were asked to read some Quranic verses from their memory.

The judgement sample consisted of 38 immigrant informants divided by education, sex, age, and area. Also 9 local informants were included, for comparative purposes. Eight linguistic variables which comprised seven phonetic variables and one related morpho-phonemic variable were analyzed.

The results arrived at can be summarized as follows. The linguistic analysis of the effect of the conditioning environment on the alternation among the immigrant, local and standard speech forms has shown that, for all the phonetic variables, it is lexically constrained in the same manner that holds for lexical diffusion (Wang 1969, etc.) which it strongly supports. The morpho-phonemic variable was not found to be subject to any linguistic constraints. Sociolinguistically, one's educational status correlated with language shift in a way such that the higher the educational level the greater the movement away from the original immigrant vernacular towards especially the local vernacular. The next highest-status group displayed not only hypercorrection in their speech behaviour but also undercorrection and underdiscorrection which are of related function. The acquisition of and shift to the local vernacular was mainly observed in and practised by the young and almost none at all by the old. The adoption of the local speech forms was led by women of the young group while sex was unimportant for the old group. Also women, unlike men, were found to minimize or lack social stratification altogether. Stylistically, the immigrant speech forms were favoured greatly by all the immigrants in their conversations with one another whereas the local speech forms were greatly favoured by all the immigrants, except for the old and the young non-educated males, in their conversations with the locals. Women, in particular, adapted their speech the most. The standard speech forms were categorical in WLS and QRS for almost all of the variables and the informants.

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I am indebted to my supervisor, Professor Charles Jones, for his friendly encouragement, moral support and linguistic insights. I benefitted from his phonological thinking a great deal. Professor Jim Milroy, Head of the Department of Linguistics at Sheffield University, read a sample draft of one of the variables to whom I am indebted for his interest in and encouragement of my work as well as for his criticisms and remarks which have been incorporated in this thesis.

To my informants, whose identities remain anonymous, I owe more than I can express. Their co—operation in this project as well as their hospitality, generosity, kindness and friendliness have overwhelmed me in a way which no suitable words can better describe. I greatly benefitted from talking to and discussing many things with them often in a very warm—hearted atmosphere over a very nice 'cup of tea or coffee'. I hope that my work should stand in recognition of their efforts which they have put into it in the form of raw and innocent speech data which they did not know how it was going to be utilized. My indebtedness to them all is beyond what words can express.

To my parents, brothers Ghazi, Zaid, Jassem, Abdullah and Mohammad, and sisters Hamda, Sab2a, Thnaiya, Ghazza, and Ghaziyya, I am indebted more than anyone else. They provided me with accommodation, food, love, warmth, affection, and prayer on which I had to depend during most of my stay away from them. Ghazi, Zaid, Jassem, Abdullah and Ghaziyya helped in the naming and recruitment of some informants. I am indebted to Ghazi for convincing two of his friends to co—operate in the recordings after they initially rejected to do so. My friends Mohammad Hamad Husain, Jassem Mohammad Mohammad, and Abdulkareem Husain were also very helpful and supportive to whom I owe many thanks. I had many illuminating discussions with Abdulkareem, an

intelligent scholar of Arabic at Damascus University although he refused to co-operate in the project materially, whether in the recruitment of informants or in other field work-related matters.

Finally, I am grateful for Mrs Krystyna Stenhouse for her excellent typing of the thesis.

Dedication

This work is warmly dedicated to my parents,
Ali and Hasna, and brothers, Ghazi, Abdullah,
and Mohammad in recognition of their love and
support in every possible way.

List of Phonetic Symbols

Although the IPA notation as outlined in Gimson (1980) has been systematically followed, a number of phonetic symbols have been modified for typewriting purposes. These are as follows:

(i) Vowels

: indicates vowel length. E.g. Arabic /ka:n/ 'was', English /si:/ 'see'.

ah* when long (i.e. /a:h/) indicates a) low back unrounded articulation as in English /fa:hr/ 'far' and Arabic /naha:hr/ 'day' and when short indicates a rather low central unrounded pronunciation as in /kat/ 'cut', /Dhahn/ 'doubt', 'thought'.

(ii) Consonants

/T/ indicates a voiceless alveolar—pharyngealized plosive. E.g. /Ta:hr/ 'flew'.

/D/ indicates a voiced alveolar—pharyngealized plosive. E.g. /Dimn/ 'within'.

/S/ indicates a voiceless alveolar—pharyngealized fricative. E.g. /Sa:hr/ 'became'.

/Z/ indicates a voiced alveolar—pharyngealized fricative. E.g. /Zahnn/ 'doubt'.

/Dh/ indicates a voiced interdental—pharyngealized fricative. E.g. /Dhahnn/ 'this'.

/dh/ indicates a voiced interdental fricative. E.g. /dhis/ 'this', /dhi:b/ 'wolf'.

/th/ indicates a voiceless interdental fricative. E.g. /thin/ 'thin', /tha:ni/ 'second'.

/8/ indicates a voiced velar fricative. E.g. /8a:b/ 'disappeared'.

/2/ indicates a voiceless pharyngeal fricative. E.g. /2u:t/ 'whale'.

/3/ indicates a voiced pharyngeal fricative. E.g. /3umr/ 'age'.

/ch/ indicates a voiceless palatal affricate. E.g. English /chips/ 'chips', Arabic /cha:n/ 'he was'.

/sh/ indicates a voiceless alveolar fricative. E.g. English /shi:/ 'she', Arabic /shams/ 'sun'.

/j/ indicates a voiced palatal affricate. E.g. /ji:p/ 'jeep', /jabr/ 'algebra'.

/zh/ indicates a voiced alveolar fricative. E.g. English/French /peizh/ 'paige', Arabic /zhabr/ 'algebra'.

/y/ indicates a voiced palatal semivowel. E.g. English /yes/ 'yes', Arabic /yo:m/ 'day'.

* In certain cases, the phoneme /h/ receives its full phonetic value. To denote this, the hyphen '-' is used to separate it from the preceding phoneme. Thus in the words

/ma—hlan/ 'slowly', /ʔa—hlan/ 'welcome!', /t—him/ 'it matters', the speech—sound /h/ is fully pronounced.

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Chapter One

Introduction

1.0 Introduction

This chapter serves as a brief exposition of the main themes and arguments of the thesis. It introduces the theoretical model on which this work is framed and the stages of its development in a rapid and swift manner. It also gives an outline of this study with a brief statement of its aim and the specific problem(s) that will be examined later.

1.1 Theoretical Framework

This study falls generally within the theoretical framework of the quantitative or variable paradigm of William Labov, Peter Trudgill and their followers. The variable paradigm first arose as a response to the view of the Chomskyan school of linguistics according to which:

Linguistic theory is concerned primarily with an ideal speaker—listener, in a completely homogeneous speech—community, who knows its language perfectly and is unaffected by such grammatically irrelevant conditions as memory limitations, distractions, shifts of attention and interest, and errors (random or characteristic) in applying his knowledge of the language in actual performance.
(Chomsky, 1965:3–4)

Chomsky's defense of homogeneity and idealization in the speech—community with which linguistic theory has to be concerned led him to disregard speech variation which he described as irrelevant and is the result of various sorts of distortions of memory, attention and so on. Thus language reality exists in the minds of its speakers (competence) and not as they use it (performance). Speech performance is therefore dysfunctional. Chomsky (1965:4) further noted that the founders of modern general linguistics have all been concerned with the homogeneous nature of language structure for which no plausible reason has been given to modify it accordingly.

The variable paradigm has contested Chomsky's position and regarded speech variation to be at the centre rather than at the periphery of linguistic theory. Emphasis has been laid on the different ways in which people use their language when they communicate with one another to fulfil certain functions. Mastery of different ways of speaking is very



essential to any living speech community whose absence is dysfunctional. As Weinreich, Labov and Herzog (1968:101) put it:

... native-like command of heterogeneous structures is not a matter of multidialectalism of "mere" performance, but is part of unilingual competence. One of the corollaries of our approach is that in a language serving a complex (i.e. real) community, it is absence of structured heterogeneity that would be dysfunctional.

Thus language heterogeneity is not only real and unilingual of which every person is capable but also structured, patterned and functional. That is, people speak language differently amongst themselves, to satisfy and serve their needs. These speech differences are also patterned in the sense that they follow certain rules and regulations.

The variable paradigm owes its existence initially to the work of the American linguist, William Labov, who first initiated, defended and adopted the study of language variation by devising its tools and methods and setting its goals and objectives. His first study was that of Martha's Vineyard (1963) in which he investigated the social origins (i.e. age, region, occupation and ethnic group) of the phonetic process of centralization in the diphthongs /ay/ and /aw/. In this study, Labov laid down his methods of sampling informants, collecting speech data, and isolating and measuring linguistic variables. These methods were later refined and developed in his New York City study (1966). In this latter study, sociological methods for representing social structure have been adopted and the concept of speech style has been investigated. Labov (1969) tried to resolve the problem of incorporating language variation into generative grammar and formulating it by rule. Labov (1972a and b) brings together his previous research and presents it as a viable theory of sociolinguistics.

Labov's work has been enthusiastically received by scholars all over the world. In America Wolfram (1969) is one of the first studies that has been inspired by his model. Outside of the USA the most popular work that has tested Labov's methods is Trudgill's (1974) study of Norwich English in England. Early sociolinguistic research in the U.K. that has been motivated by the example of Labov and Trudgill is collected in Trudgill (1978). Other studies in the U.K. include Macaulay's (1977) study of Glaswegian Scottish

English and Petyt's (1977/1985) study of West Yorkshire English. Romaine (1982a) is a collection of studies in a wide variety of settings around the world such as Tehran (Jahangiri and Hudson 1982), Sweden (Thelander 1982), etc. In the Arab world a few studies have also been carried out such as Schmidt (1974) on Egyptian Arabic, Al-Amadihi (1985) on Qatari Arabic, etc.

The variable paradigm went through various stages of development. In the beginning, it was limited to the study of phonological variables (Labov 1963, 1966, 1972a; Trudgill 1974, 1978; Macaulay 1977; Petyt 1985; etc.) but later grammatical variables were studied (Labov 1969, 1972b; Cheshire 1982; Harris 1984; El-Hassan 1978). The variable paradigm has also been extended to the treatment of historical problems such as the relative pronoun (Romaine 1982b) and both synchronic and diachronic problems such as the morphological suffix (-ing) (Houston 1985) and phonetic variables (Harris 1985). It has also been applied to child language acquisition (Wells 1986), to second or foreign language teaching and learning (Wolfram 1985), and to discourse structure (see Dittmar 1987).

One of the main developments that has affected the variable paradigm is the usage of the computer and the design of special programs to calculate the probabilities of rule application or non-application. Two such sophisticated programs came to be known as VARBRUL2 and VARBRUL3 (Cedergren and Sankoff 1974; Rousseau and Sankoff 1978; Poplack 1979; Houston 1985; Horvath 1985). These programs have not been used by all sociolinguists, however. In fact, there is no agreement amongst sociolinguists as to which statistical technique is to be used. For example, Cheshire (1982) used the standard Labovian framework and L. Milroy (1980) the analysis of variance, etc. The majority of studies have continued to use the classical Labovian framework with some modifications (see Bortoni-Ricardo 1985).

The representation of social structure in Labov (1966), Trudgill (1974), Macaulay (1977) and Petyt (1985) was class-based. Class structure was sociologically determined in all of them. Labov (1969, 1972b), Habick (1980), and Cheshire (1982) shifted their emphasis to the study of smaller naturally-occurring groups such as the peer group whose

influence in the formation, retention, enforcing or loosening of the vernacular of teenagers has been well documented. The social network and the role it plays in the maintenance and shift of the language of the adults has received its clearest expression in L. Milroy (1980) and Milroy and Milroy (1985). The social network has been applied to a Brazilian setting by Bortoni-Ricardo (1985).

The investigation of speech styles has also continually received the attention of sociolinguists. Although the classical Labovian style framework as used by Labov (1966, 1972a), Trudgill (1974), Petyt (1985) is still in use (e.g. Shorrab 1982; Al-Amadihi 1985), several attempts at remedying its shortcomings have so far been made by Labov himself (1969, 1972b), his followers (e.g. L. Milroy 1980; Cheshire 1982) and by other sociolinguists of various persuasions (e.g. Bickerton 1980). (For a fuller view of this and related matters see our review in Chapter 3.)

In early and even most recent sociolinguistic studies (e.g. Labov 1966, 1972a; Wolfram 1969; Trudgill 1974; Macaulay 1977; Petyt 1985; L. Milroy 1980; Cheshire 1982; Al-Amadihi 1985) language variation has been described as bi-dimensional or bi-dialectal. That is, it occurs along the standard-one-vernacular continuum. In their everyday communication speakers of a particular language alternate the standard (prestigious) and non-standard (often stigmatized) forms of a given linguistic variable. For example, the variable (ng) as in sing, ring, has a standard velar nasal form and a non-standard alveolar nasal form in a number of English dialects (e.g. Trudgill 1974; Petyt 1985). Although the different pronunciations of (ng) are semantically unimportant, they are subject to social and stylistic factors such as the social position of the speaker and the formality or familiarity of the speech situation. The standard pronunciation is expected more from a middle-class person than from a working-class one and in formal styles more than in casual styles.

Without entering into the details of the persistent occupation of sociolinguists with describing language variation bi-dimensionally, some sociolinguistic research has started to emerge and emphasize the multi-dimensional nature of speech variation which involves the mutual influence of one vernacular and/or one standard on another vernacular. This

situation arises specially in geographically neighbouring dialects. Trudgill (1986) is such an example which brings together the findings of different studies carried out mainly in Britain and Scandinavia, especially Norway, as well as other parts of the world. (He also relied on the social psychological theory of accommodation (e.g. Giles 1973; Giles and Smith 1979, etc.) to explain the motives by which persons or speakers change their speech.) In Britain, for instance, Trudgill (1986: 42–53) has shown how the dialect of London, Cockney, came to influence the adjacent East Anglian dialects. Most of these influences are carried away from the standard norm such as h–dropping. In Høyanger, Norway, Trudgill (1986: 95–99) reported on the emergence of a wholly new dialect as a result of contact between several dialects.

Finally, while the majority of previous sociolinguistic studies have dealt with non–immigrant speech communities, a few have been concerned with immigrant speech lately. The importance of these studies lies in the fact that they show how the immigrants adapt their speech and acquire the host community's speech patterns which are not necessarily standard. Payne (1976, 1980) investigated the acquisition of Philadelphia English in the USA by out–of–state (i.e. immigrant) children aged 4–14 years. All of the 8 variables in her study were of neutral prestige in all of the involved eight dialects. Kerswill (1985) has shown how rural immigrants from Strilelandet (Stril District) acquired the urban dialect of Bergen, Norway. The language situation in Norway is complicated in the sense that there are, in addition to the immigrants' original dialect and Bergen's dialect, two more standard dialects: one is Bokmål and one is Nynorsk. The former is taught and is the official language in most Norwegian towns including Bergen while the latter is confined to western and central (often rural) areas including the immigrants' original area, Strilelandet (see Kerswill 1985:36). The immigrants' original dialect resembles Nynorsk in morphology and vowels while Bokmål resembles the non–standard but high–prestige variety of native Bergeners. Kerswill concentrated his analysis on the two vernaculars only in the speech of 39 adult immigrants on three linguistic variables and without any reference to the standard dialects. In Brazil, Bortoni–Ricardo (1985) examined a similar problem of how 33 rural immigrants came to acquire the standard

dialect of the urban city, Brazilandia, in which they resided. She studied four linguistic variables that were correlated with the social parameters of age, sex, occupation and social network. (The relevant results of all these studies will be mentioned later here and there in the course of this thesis.)

1.2 An Outline of This Study

1.2.1 Aim and Scope

This study sets out to extend and apply the sociolinguistic methods and analytic procedures of the variable paradigm to an Arabic-speaking speech-community. The goal of this study can be defined in such a way as to provide a sociolinguistic description of an immigrant speech variety of Syrian Arabic in the area of Damascus. This dialect can be called immigrant Golan FaDl Arabic (hereafter IGFA) in view of the fact that speakers of this dialect are commonly known as al-FaDl and who immigrated from the Golan Heights since its occupation by Israel in June 1967. Since that time the immigrants have been living in and mainly around Damascus City. This study is not only the first to handle sociolinguistic variation in IGFA but also in Syrian Arabic as a whole. In addition, this study is one of a few sociolinguistic descriptions of modern Arabic dialects that have been conducted so far.

As such, this study is hoped to be a contribution to the sociolinguistic literature on Syrian Arabic in particular and on Arabic dialects in general, the variable paradigm and general linguistic theory. No effort will be spared in the course of this thesis to point out those similarities and contrasts between the findings of this study and those of American, European and Arabic studies.

No attempt will be made in this study to formulate the findings of this sociolinguistic description by rule, whether generative or else in the manner reported in Labov (1969, 1972a, 1972b) and Trudgill (1974) or otherwise. Many criticisms have been levelled against such rule formulations (Kay and MacDaniel 1979; J. Milroy 1982) and I do not want to reiterate them here. Even Trudgill (1986:68) noted that his own (1974) generative analysis and formulation of English in Norwich by means of phonological rules was wrong. In fact, the vast majority of sociolinguistic studies have not addressed

issue at all (e.g. Macaulay 1977; Petyt 1985; L. Milroy 1980; Cheshire 1982; Al-Amadihi 1985; Kerswill 1985; Bortoni-Ricardo 1985; etc.).

1.2.2 The Problem

Language variation in this study is tridialectal. It involves three speech varieties which are Standard Arabic (henceforth SA), Damascus Arabic (henceforth DA) and immigrant Golan FaDi Arabic (IGFA). SA is the official dialect, being used by the mass media, and in which literary writings as well as the Holy Quran are written. This dialect is not regularly spoken by any Arab speech community in their everyday interactions although elements of this are introduced variably into their speech. DA is the local and native dialect spoken basically in Damascus City and its neighbourhood although areal variations, especially in lexis, do occur. IGFA had been spoken in a number of villages on the Golan Heights by a group of people known as al-FaDi until they were driven out from there by the Israelis in 1967. After that IGFA has been spoken as an immigrant dialect in those places in which these immigrants live, especially Damascus, including the City and its neighbouring towns. In this situation it can be noticed that IGFA has been brought into day-to-day contact with DA in addition to SA. IGFA, therefore, provides one of the best sites for the investigation of linguistic accommodation or variation between different dialects.

In this study we are concerned, more precisely, with the linguistic changes that have affected immigrant speech under the influence of the standard and/or the local dialect. We are interested in investigating whether the immigrants change their speech when they really do so towards DA, SA or what. The direction of linguistic change very much depends on the relationship between the standard, on the one hand, and the two vernaculars, on the other. There are at least three aspects of this relationship. First, there are cases in which certain linguistic forms are realized in each dialect differently. The variable (q), a voiceless uvular stop, is realized, for example, as [q] in the standard, as [ʔ] in the local dialect, and as [g] and [j] in the original immigrant dialect. Secondly, there are cases whose pronunciations in SA and DA are different from those in IGFA. The variable (D), a voiced alveolar-pharyngealized plosive, is pronounced, for instance, as

[D] in SA and DA but as [Dh], a voiced alveolar–pharyngealized fricative in IGFA. Finally, there are cases in which SA and IGFA have different pronunciations from DA. To give an example, the variable (J), a voiced palatal affricate, is realized as [j] in SA and IGFA but as [zh], a voiced alveolar fricative, in DA.

In their everyday interactions, the immigrant speakers utilize the full spectrum of this linguistic continuum, though variably. That is, an immigrant speaker can use all three dialects even in the same stretch of speech but the preponderance of one speech variety over another in a particular speech situation is constrained by social and stylistic factors.

To fully capture this intricate sociolinguistic situation of cross–dialectal switching, the question of sociolinguistic methods of data collection has to be approached and conducted very carefully or a large amount of information could be mutilated and lost. Although the few sociolinguistic studies that have dealt with immigrant speech so far (Payne 1976, 1980; Kerswill 1985; Bortoni–Ricardo 1985) used more or less the same standard Labovian framework of data collection, this methodology cannot be applied wholesale to and yield satisfactory results in our case especially if we take into account the fact that only 18 years have elapsed between the start of immigration in 1967 and the conducting of this study's fieldwork in May–August 1985, a very short period, indeed, for complete language loss and gain to be effected. The immigrants were observed to change their speech according to whether they were talking with their co–immigrants or with the locals. Although in each speech situation cross–dialectal shifting occurred, the immigrants' speech with one another was characterized by a high degree of language maintenance (i.e. their first original immigrant dialect) while with the locals with a high degree of language shift (i.e. towards the local dialect). A full description of the research methods used to approach this problem is given later in this thesis (Chapter 4).

Inter–dialectal variation between IGFA, SA and DA and shift from, say, IGFA to SA and/or DA is very much affected, in addition to the stylistic constraints, by such social parameters as sex, age and social status. These social factors have been found very important in externally constraining and conditioning language variation in New York City (Labov 1966, 1972a), Norwich (Trudgill 1974), Glasgow (Macaulay 1977), Belfast (L.

Milroy 1980) and so on. The role and relevance of these parameters to the immigrant speech situation is therefore investigated.

Besides the above external factors that condition language variation, internal factors are also important. A number of studies (e.g. Labov 1969, 1972b; Cheshire 1982) have shown that how certain linguistic environments, whether phonetic, syntactic or lexical, play an inhibiting or a favouring role on the occurrence or the choice of a particular variant of a given variable. The study of the linguistic context has therefore been included in this work in order to see how the alternation of the tri-dialectal variants is governed at the purely linguistic level.

Finally, language variation in IGFA will be examined through the investigation of primarily phonological variables. Altogether there are seven phonological variables and one morphophonemic variable of related interest. The exclusion of grammatical and lexical variables does not imply that these variables are unimportant. On the contrary, at every level of the linguistic analysis, there are many such interesting variables. These variables are left for future research and it is beyond the scope of a single thesis to treat more than eight variables of more than one level of grammatical analysis and most theses were dedicated to the examination of five variables (Labov 1966, 1972a) or two (e.g. Al-Amadihi 1985) or even one (e.g. Houston 1985; Romaine 1982a).

1.3 Plan of the Thesis

The remainder of this thesis will be planned in the following manner. Chapter Two gives a general background, geographical, historical, and social, about the area and the immigrant setting. The position of the immigrants will be described in relation to that of the host and local community. Chapter Three is a review of basically sociolinguistic methodology, in which ways of describing and representing social structure, collecting speech data, sampling informants and so on are summarised. Chapter Four presents the research methods and analytic techniques of this study. Chapter Five is a sketch of the contrastive phonology of the three dialects involved in this study, namely, IGFA, SA and DA. The main emphasis of this chapter will be on the selected variables rather than on anything else. The analysis of the results is presented in Chapters 6 through 9. Chapter

Six provides a linguistic analysis of the internal factors that condition the alternation of linguistic variants. Chapters 7 through 9 are dedicated to the sociolinguistic findings: Chapter Seven is an extended analysis of one variable while Chapters Eight and Nine offer an analysis of three and four variables each. The variables have been so grouped from the point of view of their convergence with and divergence from the standard dialect. The variable of Chapter Seven is an example of full divergence in which every dialect has its own characteristic realization thereof. The three variables of Chapter Eight are characterized by the fact that SA and DA share the same pronunciations from which IGFA diverges and those of Chapter Nine are noted for the convergence of SA and IGFA and the divergence of DA. Chapter Ten is summaries and conclusions in addition to directions for future research.

Chapter 2

The Immigrant Setting: A Geographical, Historical and Social Perspective

2.0 Introduction

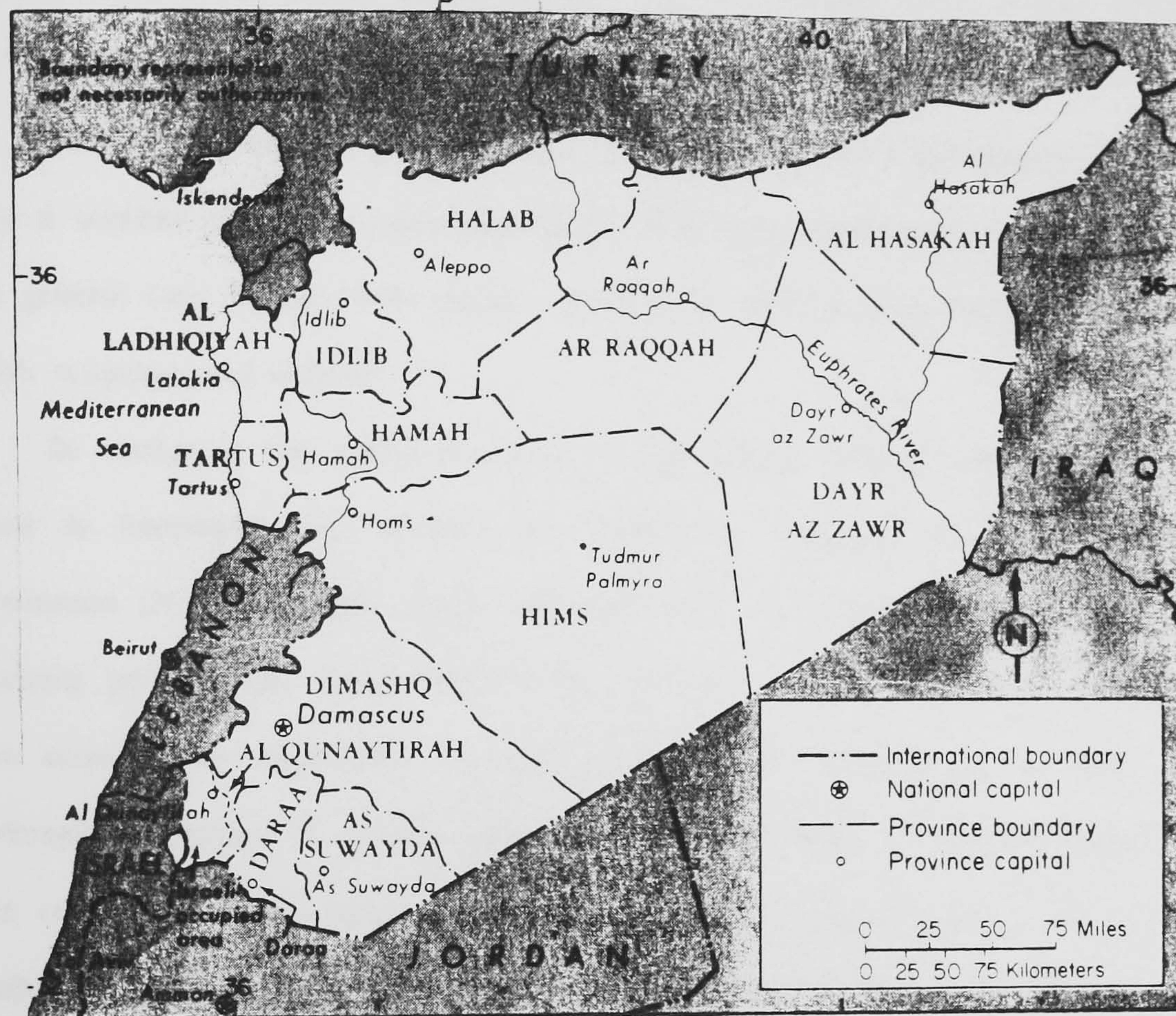
This chapter serves to give background information about the immigrant population of this study. As the immigrants' social conditions are enmeshed within the fabric of the Syrian society as a whole, it is worthwhile to dedicate one part of this chapter to a brief examination of the general Syrian situation so that the immigrants' own situation can be seen in perspective.

2.1 The General Syrian Setting

2.1.1 The Geographical Setting

Present-day Syria was until 1919 part of what was called Greater Syria (Hitti 1959). This refers to a geographically delimited area which consisted of Palestine, the Lebanon, Trans-Jordan, and present-day Syria with a total area of 300,000 km². This far-stretching area was divided into two parts under the Anglo-French Agreement of Sykes-Picot (Shaaban 1976). Syria and the Lebanon were put under the French mandate and Palestine and Jordan under the British mandate. After the Second World War Syria gained its independence from France and has an area of 185,000 km². Syria is bounded by Turkey on the north, Iraq on the east, Jordan on the south, the Mediterranean, the Lebanon and Palestine on the west. Syria has a population of around 10 million inhabitants (Central Bureau of Statistics 1981) and is administratively divided into fourteen governorates (provinces) based in the main cities. The two largest cities are Damascus, the capital city (population = 1,251,028), and Aleppo in the north. Figure 1 shows Syria's international boundaries as well as the internal administrative divisions.

Figure 1. Syria's International Borders and Administrative Divisions



(Source: Nyrop 1979:xix)

2.1.2 The Historical Setting

Due to its geographical position as a crossroads between continents, especially Asia and Africa, Syria witnessed throughout its long history the advent and disappearance of many peoples and civilizations that invaded, conquered or finally settled in it. It was first invaded by the Egyptian Pharaohs in 1600 BC and by the Amorites a century later. Then came the Aramaeans in 940 BC, the Assyrians in 732 BC, the Greeks in 333 BC, and the Romans in 63 AD. Syria assumed its Arab character since the Arab or Muslim conquest in 636 AD when Damascus fell to the Arabs and became capital 661–750. The Turks occupied Syria together with the rest of the Arab world from 1517–1918. By the end of the First World War, the French imposed their mandate over the country. In 1946 the French were evacuated and Syria not only became independent but also took its

political, though divided, shape for the first time in history. (For further details see Hitti 1959; Guine 1976; Petran 1972; Torrey 1961; Al-Akhras 1969; Carter 1979.)

2.1.3 The Social Setting

The Syrian society, like all other Arab societies' is predominantly Arab although there are a number of ethnic minorities which have been assimilated into the mainstream culture in general (see Nyrop 1979: ch.2). The word Arab is not associated with race but rather with language and culture.

In analysing the social structure of the Syrian society, two methods are recognized. One is horizontal and divides the population into (i) tribes, (ii) villagers, and (iii) townsmen (Nyrop 1969:63; Bagh 1961:398–418; Al-Yassin 1984:2). (For a similar Middle Eastern position see Patai 1969:19–29, 36–37.) These three sections of the community are economically dependent and exchange services amongst one another. Tribesmen are primarily interested in animal husbandry and secondarily in farming while villagers are just the contrary and are concerned in the first place with agriculture and in the second place with livestock. Townsmen take the roles of traders, servicemen and officials in administrative, political, judicial and educational institutions. The central unit in each of these groupings is the family (Nyrop 1979:70; Schilcher 1985) which protects and cares for the interests of its members.

This traditional picture of the Syrian community has been altered drastically since independence. The division between the village and the town is no longer as clear-cut. In fact many villages have been fully urbanized (for an example see Khalaf 1981).

The second method is vertical which splits the population into social classes on the basis of their occupation, education, wealth, income, and related criteria. The strongest argument in favour of social stratification in the Middle East in general is Bill (1972:417–34). Bill (1972:424) defined the social class as:

... the largest aggregates of individuals united by similar models of employment and possessing similar power positions to preserve, modify, or transform relationships among such aggregates.

Bill's model of distinguishing between classes on the basis of their occupation and power led him to recognize three socio-economic classes (Bill 1972:430) which are the

upper class, the middle class and the working class. The upper class consists of the rulers and their families and the élite, etc. The middle class is composed of professionals, clericals, officials and businessmen. The working class includes the peasants, the workers, etc. Bill's paper is theoretical and is based on no fieldwork data from any Middle Eastern country.

Syrian sociologists have recognized the emergence of social classes or social groups in the country, especially in the cities. Al-Akhras (1969:212:13) wrote that:

As the traditional class structure gave way to the rise of a more modern Syria, new economic and social groups emerged. In the cities, such groups as students, intellectuals, workers, trade unionists, professionals, technicians and managers, began to assert themselves through their organisations as important social forces in Syria. The managers, technicians and professionals formed the core of the emerging urban middle class. The peasants and the workers formed a basis of the rural and urban proletariat.

In a similar general statement, Nyrop (1979:61–65) defined two or three social classes for the Syrian society on the basis of education, occupation, and income. These were mainly the working class and the middle class.

Zakarya (1977) summarized the problems of social stratification research in Syria such as the lack of exact statistical data, the recency of such research in the country and fluidity in the social boundaries. As he puts it (1977:248–49):

The study of social structure in ... Syria remains fraught with problems. This is due to the lack of adequate statistics and inexactness of available materials. The reasons are manifold. Firstly, social research is new in Syria; there are not many research workers. Consequently, many a social group has remained beyond the reach of research ...

Secondly, there are practical difficulties relating to the complexity and entanglement of the components of the society. The general trend of social development has not, as yet, reached the definitive stage of clear social class distinctions. The boundaries of social classes and groups are still fluid, intermingled and overlapping; with large sections of the population still in suspense – so far, their class has not taken a definite shape ...

Zakarya then tried to classify the Syrian society into social classes or groups, basing his classification on the official information that he derived from the yearly statistical abstracts. At the base are the working class including labourers and peasants. The latter's position was worse before the passage of the first Agrarian Reform Act in 1958 but considerably improved ever since. In fact, the Agrarian Reform Act had a marked

effect on the social structure of the country as a whole (Zakarya 1977:262). A number of groups constitute what he termed the middle groups which share two things in common: they belong to no special class directly and have no class interests but give backing to other groups such as the intellectuals and the military (Zakarya 1977:264). These include (i) the small bourgeoisie of small-scale producers, (ii) the urban middle class of the commercial, administrative and service sector, and (iii) the urban lower-class who live in harsh conditions and move from job to job. Finally comes the intelligentsia which consists of those 'engaged ... in the learned professions, writers, as well as all other persons who have ... a certain level of education — including civil servants' (Zakarya 1977:264). The Syrian intelligentsia is relatively small but its numbers have increased since the independence.

This obscure and fluid picture of social stratification in Syria as described above is due to a number of factors of which the following two are very important. This is, in the main, due to lack of education thirty years ago. For instance, when the French left Syria, education reached only five percent of the population but had risen to 17.2 percent by 1967 (Petran 1972:220). She also added that illiteracy amongst over 10 year-olds in the period 1960–68 was 60–59% on average and which was lower for men 43–41% than for women 77%. Amongst rural females, this was 94–93% during the same period (Petran 1972:224). Definitely education has considerably improved in Syria after 1950. Nyrop (1979:89) noted that by 1975/76 94% of school boys were enrolled at primary level. The Economic Intelligence Unit (EIU) (1986:9) has written of the recent status of education in Syria as follows:

Syria has a reasonably well-educated population and a well-trained labour force in comparison with other Arab countries. In 1980 the adult literacy rate was only around 58 percent, but there has been a substantial expansion of educational facilities at various levels ranging from schools to adult literacy programmes in recent years. In 1982 the number of children enrolled in primary schools as a percentage of the relevant age group was 100 percent, compared with 78 percent in 1965. There was a steep rise in the percentage of girls from 52 to 90 percent, over the same period. The total number enrolled in secondary schools as a percentage of the relevant age group rose from 28 to 51 percent, and the number enrolled in higher education as a percentage of the 20–24 age group rose from 8 to 16 percent.

The second such factor that contributed to the fluidity of the social structure of the Syrian society is its mode of economic activity which is noted for its agrarian character. 60% of the total manpower are employed in agriculture (Zakarya 1977:261). The large size of the agricultural work force also resulted in the fact that the largest section of the community would belong to the working class in general.

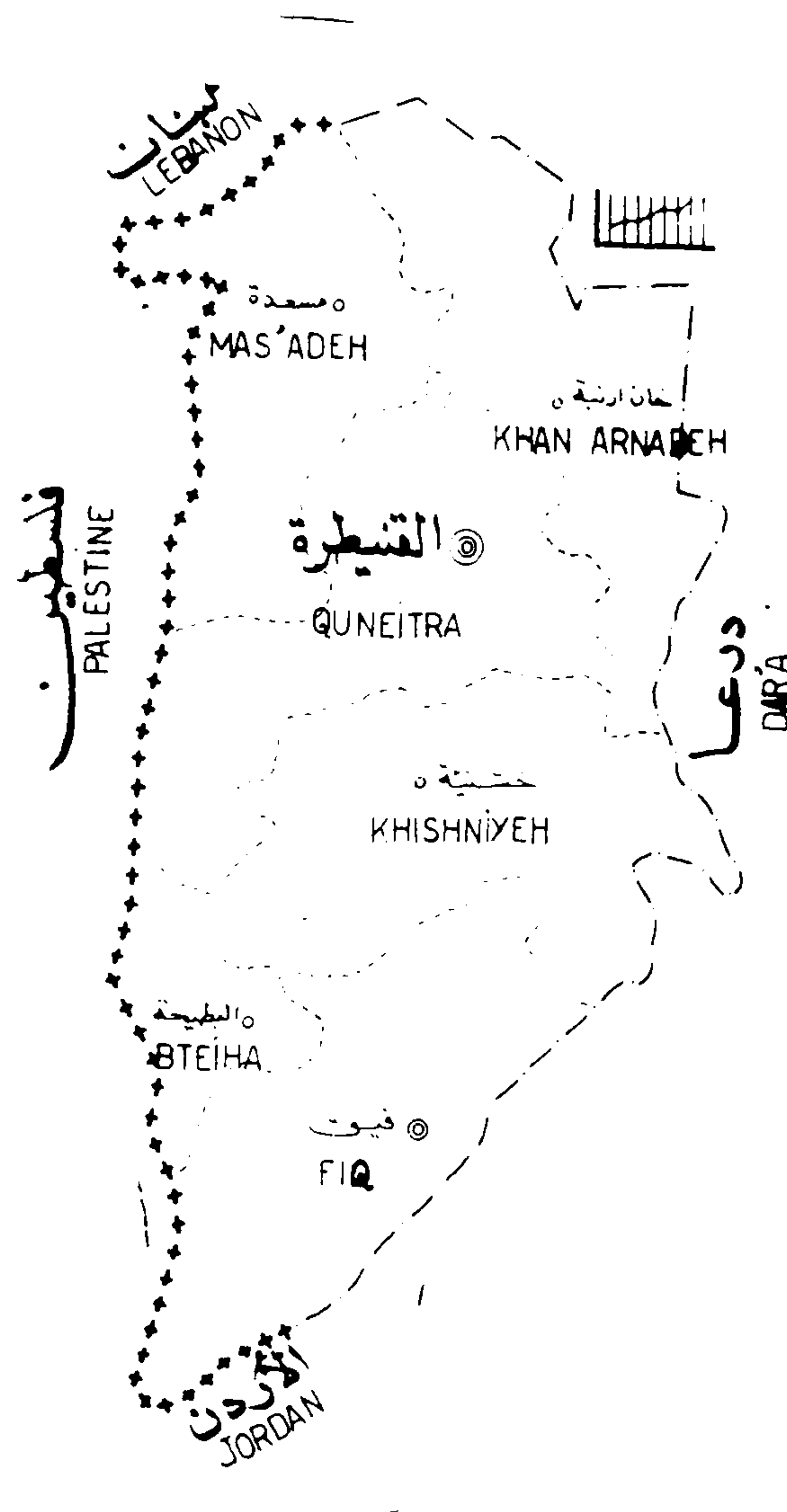
2.2 The Immigrant Setting

2.2.1 A General Description of the Immigrant Setting

2.2.1.1 Pre-1967 Setting

The immigrants had been living in the Golan Heights (now the District of Qunaitira) until 1967. It is situated, according to Bagh (1961:7), in the south-western corner of Syria bounded by Jordan on the south-west, Palestine on the west, the Lebanon on the north-west, Mount Hermon on the north, subdistrict of Wadi Ajam on the north-west, and Hauran (present-day Dar3a) on the east (see Figure 1 above). During its entire history, the Golan Heights remained administratively attached to Hauran (Dar3a) but was adjoined to Damascus in 1904 for economic and administrative reasons (Zakariya 1957:479). Consequently the Golan Heights was split into two administrative divisions: the subdistrict of Quneitra and the subdistrict of Fiq under the administration of Damascus and Dar3a respectively. On 31 August 1964 the District of Quneitra was created out of a re-union of the formerly split subdistricts of Quneitra and Fiq (Khayr 1976:74). The City of Quneitra was designated the provincial capital of the Golan Heights with a total area of 1860 km². Quneitra had a population of 108,046 according to the 1960 census of population (Khayr 1976:104) distributed across 163 villages, 108 farms and 2 towns. Figure 2 shows the administrative divisions of the District of Quneitra together with the main towns.

Figure 2. The District of Quneitra with Main Towns and Administrative Districts



(Source: Central Bureau of Statistics: 1970.

In 1967 the vast majority of the District of Quneitra was lost to Israel during the Arab-Israeli war of June 5-10. On the eve of the occupation the Golan Heights had a population of more than 153,000 (Khayr 1976:73; Davis 1983:8). As a result of the Israeli occupation, over 93% of the population were driven out (Harris 1980:16; Nissan 1978:137). As Harris (1980:15) puts it:

All areas conquered by Israel in June 1967 experienced an immediate and substantial out-movement of Arab residents ... On the Golan ... there was near total settlement desertion.

Only five Syrian villages remained on the Israeli-occupied Golan Heights the number of whose inhabitants were variously estimated at 13,000 (Lesch 1978:19), 16,500 (Khayr 1976:100) or 7,000 (Davis 1983:2-3).

In October 1973 another war broke out between the Syrians and the Egyptians, on the one hand, and the Israelis, on the other, to recapture the lost territories of 1967. After the Israeli-Syrian Disengagement Agreement of June 1974 (Rudolph 1979:200; Harris 1980:11), only the city of Quneitra was handed back as rubble (see Hidrew 1984:6) to the Syrian civilian administration while the rest of the Golan Heights is still under the Israelis with new settlements in place of the Syrian ones (for further details see Perlmott 1983:54-71; Orr 1983:82-101). Figure 3 shows the disengagement lines on the Golan Heights on 30 March 1978 (see overleaf).

Social conditions on the Golan Heights before 1967 were not different from those in the rest of the country. There are three studies about social life on the Golan Heights then. The first is Oppenheim (1939:350-78) which describes the lives of the Bedouins only and is therefore of limited use. The second is Zakariya (1957) which is a very interesting study and which covers almost every aspect of life on the Golan Heights: geographical, historical, archaeological, architectural, social and agricultural. The third is Bagh (1961). This was the author's Ph.D. thesis submitted to the Sorbonne University of Paris. Although the thesis is about the regional geography of the Golan Heights, it included a sizeable section about its human geography as well.

People on the Golan Heights were mostly rural, living in villages (80%). Urban dwellers constituted 20% of the province's population who lived in the two administrative centres of Quneitra and Fiq (Khayr 1976:111; Davis 1983:8). Towns were of secondary importance and had it not been for their administrative and commercial status they would not have been included as cities at all (Khayr 1976:111). Villagers on the Golan Heights were either Fallaheen or Arabs (Zakariya 1957:501-15; Bagh 1961:320-37). The former were agricultural and animal farmers in that order. The latter were mainly concerned with animal keeping as their first priority and secondarily with agriculture (for details on the social customs and traditions of both groups, see Zakariya 1957).

Figure 3. Disengagement Lines and Israeli Settlements on the Golan Heights, 30 March 1978



(Source: Rudolph 1979:201)

Education on the Golan Heights was at the lowest and varied from one place to another (Zakariya 1957:225; Bagh 1961:388–90). The majority of the villages did not have even a single school. As Zakariya put it (1957:501).

Villages of the Arabs were deprived from schools during all the past years. Only very lately that four elementary schools had been opened in four FaDI villages. (My translation)

As far as their occupation was concerned, the majority of the Golan Heights' population worked in agriculture. This amounted to 64% (Khayr 1976:119; Davis 1983:8).

2.2.1.2 Post–1967 Setting

In the aftermath of their mass exodus from the Golan Heights in 1967, the population of the District of Quneitra took refuge in Syrian–held territory. The majority settled in Damascus City and its suburbs as is shown in Table 2.1 below.

Table 2.1. Distribution of the 1967 Immigrants by Family Receiving Monthly Governmental Subsidies between 1967–73 by District

<u>Area</u>	<u>Number of Families</u>	<u>%</u>
Damascus City	5600	32.94
Damascus	6600	38.82
Khan Arnabe (Quneitra)	400	2.35
Der3a	3900	22.94
Suwaida	74	0.43
Homs	379	2.22
Aleppo	47	0.30
Total	17000	99.95

(Source: Central Bureau of Statistics 1974)

Table 2.1. shows that over 70% of the immigrant families live in Damascus City and the areas around Damascus. Also 23% of these families live in Der3a.

The Central Bureau does not specify the exact residential areas of the immigrants in these places. As a native of the area, I observed that the immigrants' residential areas in Damascus City are scattered in many places such as Masakin Berze, Qabun, Mezze, and Dwel3a. In the suburbs, the immigrants are mainly located in Katana, Artuz, J. Artuz, M3addamiyya, Kiswa, Sayyida Zaynab, etc. There are also some immigrant families still

living in the 'Syrian held' border area villages most of which have houses in one of the above inner areas as well.

The immigrants' social, economic and housing conditions have not been investigated so far to the best of my knowledge. Therefore, it is not known how these people have managed to live under the very biting hard conditions of war immigration. But as far as I know, most work in the service sector or as labourers. Very, very few work in agriculture. It is beyond the scope of this study to handle this situation any further here.

Finally, despite the liberation of the City of Quneitra, the provincial capital of the Golan Heights in 1974, no immigrants have so far returned to it because it has been wholly destroyed and razed to the ground by the Israelis on the eve of their departure, although all the city's buildings were intact when it fell to them in June 1967.

2.2.2 The Particular Immigrants of This Study

2.2.2.1 The FaDI: A Brief Note

This study is concerned with the linguistic situation of not the whole of the immigrants of the Golan Heights but with that of one group of those people who are commonly called al-FaDI (Oppenheim 1939:350-78; Cantineau 1936:10; Zakariya 1957:502; Bagh 1961:401). These were all rural dwellers (100%) who lived in the north-western part of the Golan Heights around the provincial capital city (see Figure 2). They worked in animal farming and agriculture in that order. Zakariya (1947:480-84) listed all their villages (14) and farms (9) but his estimates of their exact populations were dubious since they were based on un-authentic statistics. The Golan Heights' pre-1967 geographer, Bagh (1961:401), estimated their numbers at 30,000 individuals, but his figures were also unreliable due to lack of authentic statistics before 1960. Bagh himself admitted that (1961:400).

The only means of assessing the number of the FaDI immigrant population is by checking Zakariya's list above against the first official and authentic Syrian census of population of 1960. This was found to be 6021 individuals for the 14 villages and 9 farms as defined in Zakariya above. The exact number of the FaDI population at present cannot be determined for several reasons. First, the difficulty in obtaining official

statistics for all immigrants after 1967 as these are dispersed over a wide area where, for example, the people who lived in one village on the Golan Height such as Skek, are now scattered in at least 10 villages and/or towns in Damascus. Secondly, ethnic characteristics are not shown in population statistics and their figures reveal nothing about that. Thirdly, the immigrants are neither included in the Census of Population of 1981 for Quneitra nor can they be known from the Census of Damascus and Damascus City in which they are resident at present. But one can give a rough estimate of their number which at present can be about 20,000 at the least but not exceeding 30,000.

The FaDI have all immigrated from the Golan Heights since the Israeli occupation of 1967. Since then they have been living mainly in and around Damascus City (total population in 1981 was 1,251,028). In Damascus City they are centred in areas such as Masakin Berze, Masakin, Qabun and Dwel3a. But these are now moving out to the surrounding towns of Damascus City such as M3addamiyya (15535 inhabitants), J. Artuz (9611 inhabitants), Artuz (4473 inhabitants), Katana (17928 inhabitants) in the latter of which the majority of the immigrants have already settled. Other towns include Kiswa (18425 inhabitants), etc. There are also a few immigrants in other adjacent villages but these are unsettled and keep moving from one place into another. Finally a handful of immigrants are living in areas along the border with Israel such as Sa3sa3 and neighbouring villages. All of these border immigrants also have houses in Katana, Artuz, and elsewhere. Figure 4 shows the main residential areas of the FaDI immigrants in Damascus (see overleaf).

The immigrants' residential patterns in these host areas are quite distinct. The immigrants either live in groups of five or more houses in one street or in a relatively larger area where twenty or thirty houses have been built by the immigrants themselves. Most of these houses are located at the outer fringes of each town. But this does not mean that in each area the whole residents are exclusively immigrant. In some cases the immigrants and the locals live house-to-house. Nonetheless one thing is certain which is that the immigrants tend to live together with and without the locals. The scattering and clustering of the immigrants' residences around and within each area serve two purposes at

LES LIMITES ADMINISTRATIVES DE LA REGION DE DAMAS

الحدود البلدية لبلد دمشق

ZONE D'ESTIVAGE

GHOUTA-OUEST

GHOUTA-EST

The map displays the administrative boundaries of the Damascus region. Key areas are labeled: 'ZONE D'ESTIVAGE' (hatched area on the left), 'GHOUTA-OUEST' (hatched area in the center), and 'GHOUTA-EST' (hatched area on the right). The map is densely populated with place names, many followed by elevation data in meters (e.g., 96h, 37h, 270h, 795h, 1456h, 1004h, 680h, 1140h, 176h, 1959h, 84h, 65h, 280h, 886h, 2349h, 84h, 65h, 280h, 886h, 2349h, 84h, 65h, 280h, 886h, 2349h). A legend in the top right corner defines the symbols used for administrative boundaries: a solid line for 'Gh. de l'Etat' (State boundary), a dashed line for 'Gh. de la Région' (Regional boundary), a dotted line for 'Gh. de la Commune' (Commune boundary), and a thick solid line for 'Gh. de la Ville' (City boundary). The map also shows major roads and geographical features like the 'R. Barada' (Barada River) and 'R. Nour' (Nour River).

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a time: they mark the partial acceptance and partial rejection of the host community's values especially language.

In Chapter 4 more information will be given about these immigrants as we introduce the procedures used in sampling the informants of this study.

Chapter 3

Methodological Matters: A Review

3.0 Introduction

This chapter is aimed to give an introductory survey of the methods used in sociolinguistic research for measuring social indices and collecting speech data. The procedure to be followed in pursuing this aim will be eclectic rather than exhaustive since it is impossible to review all the literature in this thesis. We will point, therefore, to the main lines of research methodology especially as far as they relate to our own methodology to be discussed in Chapter 4 below.

3.1 Measurement of Social Indices

3.1.1 Sampling of Informants

Sampling informants is one of the main vexing problems in sociolinguistic research methodology (see L. Milroy 1980:42). The choice of informants as well as the size of the sample needed in any study varies from one sociolinguistic study to another. Below is given a brief summary of how this is dealt with in the literature.

3.1.1.1 Sampling Methods

There are many kinds of sample (see Petyt 1985:15–19). Generally speaking, samples can be random, stratified and judgement. A random sample is one in which every member of the population has a calculable and non-zero chance of being selected. Random samples can be simple where every member of the population has an equal chance of being selected (e.g. lottery) or quasi-random in which case not every member of the population has an equal chance of selection. This happens in drawing informants from a prepared list in which, say, every 10th name should be selected.

Judgement samples are selected by the investigator himself to fit certain categories such as sex, age, etc. Judgement samples differ from random samples in another respect which lies in the fact that the latter aim to be representative of the population from which they are drawn. For example, the ratio of males to females in the original population and the random sample should correspond to each other. Judgement samples

do not obey this restriction. Finally, a stratified sample is one which is drawn from a previous study in which the characteristics of the informants as to their class, sex, age, etc., are known.

The use of any one sampling procedure in sociolinguistics depends on many things such as the nature and orientation of the research and the availability of adequate statistical data on all sections of the community. In his New York City study, Labov (1972a:111) used a stratified sample in which the characteristics of his informants were known from a previously carried out survey by the MFY. The original MFY survey included 988 adults of whom Labov succeeded in interviewing 122 subjects. Trudgill (1974:22), in his study of Norwich, used a semi-random sample for choosing his main 50 informants. This was obtained by dividing the number of the total population of the area by the number of informants desired. The resulting sampling fraction was then taken as a basis for selecting informants. If the total Norwich population were 100,000 from whom only 50 informants had to be drawn, then the sampling fraction would be 2000. This then means that every 2000th member of the Norwich population had to be chosen. Petyt (1985:49–51) followed the same procedure as Trudgill in his study of the dialect of West Yorkshire.

The majority of sociolinguists used judgement samples (Labov, 1963, 1972a:ch.1, 1972b; Poplack 1979:27–28; Cheshire 1982; L. Milroy 1980; Horvath 1985, to mention a few). This is achieved by contacting informants on a personal basis. As Horvath (1985:43) puts it:

The individuals in the sample were chosen in a variety of ways but primarily through a kind of network procedure. We would be given the name of a likely participant, contact him/her to participate in an interview ... asking people to recall their childhood.

This is exactly what L. Milroy (1980:54–55) herself did. It is noteworthy to add that all immigrant sociolinguistic studies (Payne 1976, 1980:145; Bortoni–Ricardo 1985:131; Kerswill 1985:75–76) were of this type.

3.1.1.2 The Size of the Sample

Sample size is another annoying problem for sociolinguists. Compared to samples in sociology and psychology, sample size in sociolinguistics is too small. This is very much expected since research methods and analysis procedures are very different amongst these disciplines. Sociolinguists have to record speech data in addition to extracting social data from their informants. Also they have to sit for months transcribing the speech data elicited before any statistical analysis can be made of it. Psychologists and sociologists often rely on standardized questionnaires to obtain the needed information without the need to record their subjects in, say, a variety of speech styles or transcribe their data in the same way as sociolinguists do.

Labov's sample (1966, 1972a) of New York City consisted of 122 subjects. Trudgill's sample (1974) of Norwich was much smaller and was composed of 60 informants. Petyt's (1985) sample of West Yorkshire was nearly as large as Labov's and included 106 people. Wolfram's (1969) and Macaulay's (1977) studies of Detroit and Glasgow used 48 informants each. L. Milroy's (1980) study of Belfast had 46 speakers. Other researchers employed smaller samples of between 18 and 25 informants (e.g. Romaine 1978; Cheshire 1982; Poplack 1979; Hundley 1983; Gal 1984; Russel 1982). In immigrant studies (Bortoni-Ricardo 1983; Kerswill 1985) samples of between 33 and 39 subjects were used in each case.

The above survey indicates that there is no agreement amongst scholars on exactly how many informants are needed for any sociolinguistic project. Labov (1972a:204, also quoted in Petyt 1985:20) concluded that a random sample of 25 informants is large enough to show stylistic and social variation. The number of informants in each cell, say, age, or sex, can range from two (Wolfram 1969; Macaulay 1977) to three (Hundley 1983) or five (Le Page 1980).

3.1.2 Measurement of Social Structures

In measuring the social attributes of their subjects, sociolinguists used a number of sociological devices. Some of these studies will be reviewed below.

3.1.2.1 Social Class Studies

The measurement of social class in sociolinguistics is done via two methods: i.e. the multi-item method and the mono-item method. The multi-item method was first used by Labov (1966, 1972a) in his New York City study. Labov (1972a:285) contended that:

The social status of an individual is determined by the subjective reactions of other members of society, but it is easier for outsiders to use objective social and economic indicators to approximate the position of given individuals.

Labov (1972a:112–13) utilized the same socioeconomic index originally developed by the MFY in their survey of social attitudes in New York City which consisted of three equally weighted indicators: occupation of the breadwinner, education of the respondent, and income of the family. Each indicator had a rating of either three or four factors. This produced a 10-point index 0–9 which was then divided into four social classes: 0–1 lower class, 2–4 working class, 5–8 lower middle class, and 9 upper middle class. The divisions between these classes are not discrete but rather continuous where, for example, some classes like 2 and 5 are marginal by virtue of their bordering social positions.

Wolfram's (1969:32–39) study of Detroit employed three indicators: education, occupation and residency which were all computed for the household's head. Education and occupation had a rating of 1–7 each and 1–6 for residency. Figures obtained for education, occupation and residency were then multiplied by factors of 5, 9 and 6 respectively to compute the individual's social rank score which ranged from 20 to 134 points. The lower the score an individual had, the higher his social status became. The scores were then added for all individuals and divided to yield a limited number of discrete social classes: 20–48 upper middle class, 49–77 lower middle class, 78–106 upper working class, and 107–134 lower working class.

Trudgill's (1974:ch.3) study made use of six indicators: occupation, education, income, locality, housing and father's occupation. Each indicator had five points and the total possible scores ranged between 0–30. These scores were later cut down to produce five larger and more discrete social classes: 3–6 lower working class, 7–10 middle working class, 11–14 upper working class, 15–18 lower middle class and 19+ middle middle class.

Petyt, in his (1985:30–33) research of West Yorkshire English, employed five indicators to determine the social rank of his subjects: education, occupation, income of main breadwinner, housing and style of living. The latter one was 'subjective'. These factors had scales of three, four, or five points. The total possible scores had a range of 0–21. This produced 22 social classes which were then grouped into larger ones: 0–4 lower working class, 5–8 middle working class, 9–12 upper working class, 13–16 lower middle class and 17–21 middle middle class.

Other researchers have used only two indicators: occupation and education. For instance, Hundley (1983:80–82) divided his Peru sample into three classes: working class, middle class, and upper middle class. The working class informants had five years of primary education and were all urban blue-collar and domestic workers including taxi/truck drivers, glass blowers and handymen. Middle class speakers ranged in their education from first year of secondary school to incomplete university studies and worked as civil servants, bank clerks or salesmen. Upper middle class speakers were all university graduates and were also professionals, managers and administrators, including doctors, accountants, university professors and administrators, and lawyers. Johnston's (1985:54–55) study of Scottish English is another such example.

The social class was also measured in some studies through the use of the single-item method. The most widely used indicator was occupation. Macaulay's (1977:57–67) study of Glasgow described four social classes on the basis of the Registrar General's Classification of Occupations (also used by Trudgill and Petyt above). These were Class I (professional and managerial), Class II (white-collar, intermediate non-manual), Class III (skilled manual) and Class IV (semi-skilled and unskilled). Coupland (1984) utilized occupation in the same manner as Macaulay although he distinguished between more social classes than the latter did.

In her study of Australian English Horvath (1985:45) noted that:

The most difficult social category for any sociolinguist to use is socioeconomic class, unless, as in Labov's New York City sample, the assignment of class to individuals has first been made by a sociologist.

Horvath not only was faced by the fact that statistical data on social class in Australia was lacking but also encountered the problem of immigrants whose social positions are usually affected in a negative way in such a situation. As she put it (1985:46):

The usual situation was that in migrating, people who would formerly be classed as middle-class start off as working-class in Australia. Many subjects in this study who had taken part in this downward step had, after twenty years in the country, been able to reconstruct their former class position.

Horvath (1985:47) finally made use of the findings of a previous sociological study of occupations in Australia on the basis of which she recognized three social classes: middle class (professionals and skilled professionals), upper working class (skilled workers) and working class (unskilled workers).

In other studies, the social continuum was divided by education only. In their studies of Tehran Persian, Jahangiri (1980), Jahangiri and Hudson(1982:51–52), four social groups were defined on the basis of their educational achievement: the non-educated, the primary school-educated, the secondary school-educated, and the university-educated. Thelander (1982:80) distinguished three educational groups in his Burträsk study in Sweden. These were elementary, secondary and upper secondary. Neither of these studies, it has to be noted, though, has associated educational status with social class.

Other studies, although they have incorporated both occupation and education, treated them separately and never combined them to produce a socioeconomic index. Kerswill's (1985) study of Bergen's immigrants in Norway is such an example.

3.1.2.2 Peer Group Studies

These studies are concerned with the social norms, patterns, and pressures which govern the linguistic behaviour of adolescents and teenagers (age range 11–19). During this period, one's language seems to be affected considerably by his playmates. The extent of the influence of the peer group on language use depends on how much one is enmeshed in its social structure. Labov (1972b) described the social and linguistic structure of black male peer groups or street gangs in South-central Harlem in New York City. He identified five groups: the Thunderbirds, the Cobras, the Jets, Oscar Brothers and Inwood: the latter being the only white peer group. The social structure of these

groups could not be described socioeconomically but rather according to the social roles played by the playmates within the group. Group membership can be core, secondary or peripheral (lames). These roles are reflected in language use in a very revealing way. For example, core members are noted for their heavy vernacular use compared to the lames who use it very little (see Labov 1972b: Chs. 3 and 7).

At least two studies have been modelled on Labov (1972b) above. One is Habick's (1980) study of two peer groups at a secondary school in Farmer City, Massachussets, U.S.A., and another is Cheshire's (1982) study of three working-class groups in the town of Reading, England. Cheshire's study has the advantage of including females (11) in addition to males (13). It is beyond the scope of this work to give any further details about these here and the inquisitive reader is referred to the original works themselves.

3.1.2.3 Social Network Studies

The introduction of the concept of social network into sociolinguistics was first made by Gumperz (1964) in his anthropological study of code-switching in Hemnes, Norway. Labov (1972b) borrowed this concept for his study of peer groups in Harlem of New York City mentioned above. Gal (1978, 1979, 1984) applied it to a bilingual situation involving German and Hungarian in Austria and Russell (1982) applied it to Swahili in Mombasa, Kenya.

The social network has been utilized and developed in Milroy and Milroy (1978, 1985), L. Milroy (1980, 1982) and L. Milroy and Margrain (1980) in their works on Belfast English Vernacular in Northern Ireland. As with the peer group studies, the concept of social class is dispensed with in social network studies which focus on working class speech in the main. L. Milroy (1980) has laid down the principles and theoretical framework for social network analysis of language use. In constructing her social network index or what she called Network Strength Score (NSS) she included five points which were (L. Milroy 1980:141–42):

1. Membership of a high-density, territorially-based cluster.
2. Having established ties of kinship in the neighbourhood. (more than one household, in addition to his nuclear family.)
3. Working at the same place as at least two others from the same area.

4. The same place of work as at least two others of the same sex from the area.
5. Voluntary association with workmates in leisure hours.

L. Milroy (1980:202) claimed a general and universal applicability for her approach to social network. As she puts it:

The concept of network may then be claimed to have very general and possibly universal applicability, even though the indicators which may be said to reflect the underlying structure of personal relationships will vary in accordance with the investigator's perception of the most relevant and easily measurable cultural categories.

In her study of immigrant speech patterns in Brazil, Bortoni-Ricardo (1985:162–69) used a rather different method for calculating what she called the network integration index for her informants. This need not concern us here and the interested reader is referred to the original work itself.

3.1.2.4 Acts of Identity Studies

Le Page advanced a hypothesis that accounts for the multilingual behaviour of creole speech communities. This hypothesis can be termed acts of identity which consists of a hypothesis and four riders (Le Page 1968, 1972; Le Page et al 1974; Le Page 1980; McEntegart and Le Page 1982). The hypothesis and the four riders are as follows (McEntegart and Le Page 1982:105–6):

... each individual creates for himself patterns of linguistic behaviour so as to resemble those of the group or groups with which from time to time he wishes to be identified (or so as to distance himself from those with which he does not wish to be identified). He is able to do this only to the extent that

- (a) he can identify the groups
- (b) he has sufficient access to them and the capacity to analyse their systems.
- (c) his motivation is positive or negative, taking into account the feedback he receives from them of the chances of his being allowed to join them.
- (d) he is still able to modify his behaviour (e.g. not too old).

The hypothesis was tested mainly on schoolchildren in Belize and St Lucia in the Carribean. Teamwork was often involved in this type of research.

3.1.2.5 The Individual-oriented Studies

In contrast to the above studies which are all group-oriented in the sense that their sociolinguistic results were given as group averages, a considerable body of sociolinguistic studies have emphasised the role of the individual in language variation. These studies

have expressed their findings per individual (e.g. Douglas–Cowie 1978). Some of these studies are based on the implicationist framework (e.g. Bickerton 1971, 1973, 1975, 1981; Sabban 1985) which adopts a view to language variation radically different from that of Labov and his followers. None of these studies need concern us here.

3.2 Speech Data Collection – Description, Quantification and Analysis

3.2.1 Speech Data Collection Techniques

Sociolinguists have used different methods in eliciting speech data from their subjects. These can be summarized briefly as follows.

3.2.1.1 The Questionnaire–based Interview

The interview has been and will probably remain the standard technique in getting accurate speech data from informants no matter what its shortcomings are. Labov (1972a:109) wrote that:

... individual face–to–face interviews will always be needed for the large body of accurately recorded speech that we need for a detailed study of a given individual.

In investigating the speech patterns of a sizeable number of subjects in a systematic and consistent way, the investigator often uses a standard questionnaire that has been prepared for this purpose. Although questionnaires were first used in rural dialectology (e.g. Orton and Dieth 1962:Introduction), they have been adapted in sociolinguistic research in such a way so as to meet the requirements of what the investigator wants to do with his research. A questionnaire is usually a list of questions that the investigator needs to ask his informants in order to elicit their speech. The form of questionnaires varies from study to study depending on the nature of each research. Standard works to be cited on this matter include Labov (1966), Wolfram (1969), Trudgill (1974), Macaulay (1977), Petyt (1985), Horvath (1985), etc. Immigrant sociolinguistic studies (Payne 1976, 1980; Bortoni–Ricardo 1985; Kerswill 1985) have all followed this procedure.

Interviews are usually conducted face–to–face between ideally two persons, i.e. the interviewer and the interviewee and may last any time from 15 minutes to an hour or more. Although others may be present and can participate in the interview from time to time, the main emphasis goes for the interviewees. As the elicited speech in an interview

is mostly artificial and unnatural, the interview has been criticised for this as well as other limitations. The main criticism came to be known as the Observer's Paradox. Labov (1972a:209) described that as follows:

... the aim of linguistic research in the community must be to find out how people talk when they are not being systematically observed; yet we can only obtain these data by systematic observation.

That is, people talk in a natural, relaxed, colloquial way when nobody observes or records them. When this is done, especially by a stranger, people change their normal way of speaking and speak officially and carefully. To overcome this constraint, a number of techniques have been used to elicit the everyday vernacular such as group sessions and these are taken up below.

3.2.1.2 Group Sessions

The intention behind the use of group sessions is the elicitation of the vernacular in its broadest form and to overcome the Observer's Paradox of the interview situation. In group sessions, three or more people are recorded as they converse with one another without the direct interference of the investigator. The topics of their conversation are unprepared for and so the flow of the vernacular can be spontaneous and casual. Group sessions were used by Labov (1972b), Cheshire (1982), L. Milroy (1980), and Gal (1984), etc. The first and latter two authors have also used the interviews together with group sessions.

3.2.1.3 The Observer's Technique

In her research on the Historic Present Tense (HPT) in English, Wolfson (1976) was unable to get a sufficient corpus of speech by using the individual interview and the group session techniques. Her alternative technique of getting access to what she termed natural or appropriate speech was through observation. That is, to observe how people used the variable in narrations of different topics in different situations: conversations between friends, public meetings, work situations, conversations between children, conversations between children and their parents, conversations between neighbours, TV encounters, etc. (Wolfson 1976: 204). As this job cannot be fulfilled by a single investigator, eight 'observers' were used to spend some time of each day listening to and recording the

conversations and narratives which they heard around them. Each time the observer heard a narrative he kept a note of the following documentary information for analysis purposes: (1) the speech situation; (2) the participants (speaker[s] and their addressee[s] including their (a) sex, (b) estimated age, (c) occupation, (d) dress, (e) ethnic group (if known), (f) speech (standard/nonstandard); (3) presence and/or absence of HPT; and (4) topic of narrative (Wolfson 1976:207–8).

3.2.1.4 The Social Network Technique

The social network technique has been developed in L. Milroy (1980) for several purposes. As a fieldwork methodology, the social network technique has been found suitable for work in troubled communities such as Belfast in Northern Ireland into which the entrance of strange fieldworkers and investigators to collect speech data for their projects was constrained by many factors. In Belfast the fieldworker (i) had to be a woman, (ii) had to enter the communities alone, and (iii) to offer some guarantee of good faith of a personal kind (L. Milroy 1980:44). Without these constraints being followed, observing and recording speech would not have been possible. To overcome these problems, she entered the Belfast communities in her capacity as a 'friend of a friend'. As she (1980:54–55) puts it:

I ... always make an initial approach to a specific individual whose name had been passed on and introduced myself as 'a friend of X; he thought you might be able to help me'. Knowledge of X's name acted as a guarantee of good faith and was received as a claim by X that obligations to him should be fulfilled in the form of help for his 'friend'.

L. Milroy was able to get, through this method, enough corpus of speech data in a variety of speech situations which were very little constrained by the Observer's Paradox. The two main speech situations elicited were the interview and group sessions. The former was conducted face-to-face between the investigator and the interviewee while the latter involved other participants and in which the role of the investigator was mostly passive (see L. Milroy 1980:ch.3).

3.2.1.5 The Addressee's Technique

This applies to a body of sociolinguistic research in which at least two people are recorded interacting with each other on a variety of normal, everyday topics without the

intervention of the investigator whose role is either absent or negligible (e.g. Douglas—Cowie 1978; Coupland 1980, 1984). (For a more comprehensive review of such works, see Bell (1984)). This is often done by recording an informant with different sorts of people of various social ranks and/or networks.

3.2.1.6 The Reporter's Test

In sociolinguistics, there are many variables that occur rarely and infrequently and so cannot be elicited by normal interviews with any degree of frequency suitable for statistical purposes. The reporter's test, which was basically designed to investigate the expressive abilities of aphasics, was introduced by Bell (1986) to cope with the problem of infrequent variables in Welsh. The reporter's test is divided into three sections as follows (Bell 1986:381):

- (1) The subjects were asked to explain, as if to a third party, over the phone, exactly what the tester was doing. E.g. scratching one's ear;
- (2) The subjects (were required) to tell the tester exactly what the tester himself was doing, as if the tester for some reason was unaware of his actions; and
- (3) The subjects were given a list of four actions to perform. After each one, they had to tell the examiner exactly what they were doing. E.g. scratching one's nose, touching the table ...

Although the reporter's test was used in only two small-scale studies involving four and six informants each, Bell concluded that it is a good sociolinguistic tool for data collection and the elicitation of casual and spontaneous speech.

3.2.2 Speech Data Description or the Isolation of Styles

After the speech data has been collected, whatever procedures have been used for that, the arduous task of transcribing, describing and isolating styles from it begins. In the following I will confine myself mainly to the standard Labovian Framework and its criticisms.

3.2.2.1 The Labovian Framework of Isolating Styles

Labov (1972a:99) contented that in an interview many styles can be distinguished depending on the amount of attention paid to speech. As he puts it:

We can ... put forward the hypothesis that the various styles of speech ... are all arranged along a single dimension of attention paid to speech, with casual speech at one end of the continuum and minimal pairs at the other.

These styles can be grouped into two larger groups as follows:

Informal (or conversational) styles:

- a) casual style
- b) careful style

Formal (or reading) styles:

- c) reading passage style
- d) word list style
- e) minimal pairs style

The distinctions between these styles, especially the conversational ones, are not easy and clear. Labov (1972a:79–99) put forward a number of criteria for defining each one of them. Casual speech or spontaneous speech is the most difficult to elicit and is used in relaxed, everyday conversations with one's wife, children, and friends. Labov laid down five formal contextual situations and five informal cues to identify casual speech in an interview. The contextual situations are: (1) speech outside the formal interview proper such as that which occurs before, after or during it in interruptions when, e.g., coffee is served by a family member, (ii) speech with a third person as happens when the informant answers telephone calls, (iii) speech not in direct response to questions as in digressions, (iv) childhood rhymes, customs and songs, and (v) the danger of death question. The channel cues are changes in (i) tempo, (ii) pitch range, (iii) volume and (iv) rate of breath, and (v) laughter. Both formal and informal cues accompany and form casual speech.

Careful speech is defined as that part of the interview in which the informant is answering the interviewer's questions. This is the interview situation proper as Labov calls it. This type of speech is more formal than a conversation with, say, one's friends or family members but is less formal than job interviews and public addresses. Careful style is thus noted for its movement away from the vernacular towards the standard.

Reading styles are all very formal speech situations. They are easily distinguishable. Reading style is often written in the form of a colloquial passage in which the phonological variables are included. About 10 instances for each variable are expected (see Labov 1972a:158–9 for examples). Word list style directs one's attention on words written in isolation. Labov used three types of word list: (a) a non-printed list of days of the weeks and months of the year known by heart by every informant, (b) a printed

list of the phonological variables, investigated, and (c) minimal pairs. Finally minimal pairs style was used for the variable (r) only although minimal pairs occurred in word list and reading passage style also. Words such as sauce and source were singled out for maximal attention on the part of the informants to see whether they were aware of the fact that (r) was the single differentiator between them.

In his study of Norwich English, Trudgill (1974:46–52) followed Labov's footsteps very closely. He isolated the same styles in distinguishing between which Labov's criteria above have been fully utilized with some minor modifications such as replacing the death/danger question of casual speech with the laughter/humour question. Another such attempt that followed the footsteps of Labov and Trudgill is Petyt's (1985:44–47) study of West Yorkshire English. Petyt isolated five contextual styles: casual style, careful style, reading passage style, word list style, and minimal pairs style. Formal and informal styles were identified as in Labov above.

Other linguists were unsatisfied with Labov's criteria of style isolation. Wolfram (1969:58–9) rejected Labov's separation of the interview style into casual and careful styles. He criticized the criteria of distinguishing them as unreliable and advanced three reasons for that. First, channel cues such as tempo and laughter can also indicate an awareness on the part of the informant of the increased artificiality or formality of the situation and no criteria can apply to differentiate between what he called a nervous laughter from a relaxed laughter. Secondly, the paralinguistic features are impressionistically interpreted and so would bias the results. Thirdly, the incidence of casual speech was too infrequent in his own speech data to be subjected to statistical analysis. For these reasons Wolfram treated casual and careful styles as one style, the interview style. Macaulay (1977:21) gave a similar criticism. Horvath (1985:51) attacked Labov's methods of style shift description as unreliable. As she puts it,

The most important deviation from the Labovian style interview was the that the interview was not designed to get at stylistic variation ... I was not convinced of the reliability of the technique described by Labov for identifying style shift.

L. Milroy (1980) made a similar criticism of Labov's methodology in that speakers do not necessarily shift to the standard in reading styles. As she puts it (1980:101):

... a stylistic range in the Belfast communities cannot be analyzed effectively using Labov's early model of the single linear continuum with 'casual' and 'careful' conversational styles ranged alongside reading passage, word list and minimal pair styles, each of which approximate progressively more closely to the prestige norm. In fact, if we systematically compare speakers' language in word list style, interview style and spontaneous style ... we see that speakers do not necessarily adopt a pronunciation closer to prestige norm when they read aloud.

L. Milroy made use of 'the very wide range of speech styles' obtained through the use of the social network technique which made it easier for 'prolonged observation and recording of spontaneous interaction' (L. Milroy 1980:62) and distinguished between two speech styles: an interview style and spontaneous style. The interview style resembles Labov's and Trudgill's careful and formal style and is characterized by a question/reply structure where the interviewee is engaged in answering the investigator's questions. The spontaneous style can be a narrative in which the informants narrates a lengthy story to the investigator who mostly remains silent meanwhile or a banter where several interactants converse with each other for some time. L. Milroy treated both the narrative and the banter as spontaneous style. (For further details see L. Milroy 1980:62–8).

A great many sociolinguistic studies no longer distinguish between casual and careful speech in an interview. All immigrant sociolinguistic studies are of this type (Payne 1976, 1980; Kerswill 1985; Bortoni–Ricardo 1985).

Finally while Labov made much effort at distinguishing between careful and casual styles of the interview situation, he did not attempt to analyze the style ranges of the group session situation (Labov 1972b). Instead the group session was taken as a whole and was consequently called group style. Cheshire (1982) and Gal (1984) who recorded their informants in groups also did not identify any speech styles within the group or conversational style which was designated for the whole group session.

3.2.2.2 The Audience Design Framework

In a very lengthy paper, Bell (1984) collected a large amount of data on a 150 sociolinguistic variables drawn from a wide range of speech communities over the period 1966–1982 (Bell 1984:108). Bell rejected Labov's measurement of stylistic variation which is based on the amount of attention paid to speech where it is minimal in casual speech

and maximal in word list style and replaced it with what he called audience design. Audience design is essentially a response on part of the speakers to their audience and speakers principally accommodate, adapt and design their speech to their addressees and interactants. As he puts it (1984:159):

... (audience design) assumes that persons respond mainly to other persons, that speakers take most account of hearers in designing their talk. The speaker is first person, primary participant at the moment of speech ... The first person's characteristics account for speech differences between speakers. However, speakers design their style for their audience. Differences between the speech of a single speaker are accountable as the influence of the second person and some third persons, who together compose the audience to a speaker's utterances.

In audience design, there is no room for reading styles and casual or careful styles. Audience design has two dimensions: one responsive and one initiative. That is, a speaker may respond to his addressee or diverge from him towards a third party or referee. The responsive dimension of audience design includes personal and non—personal factors with the latter being derived from the former. The personal factors are the speaker, first person, the addressee, second person, auditor, overhearer and eavesdropper, all third persons. In audience design, the addressee is the main character and central participant who is known, ratified and addressed by the speaker. Auditors are known, ratified but unaddressed. Overhearers are known but unratified participants while eavesdroppers are unknown and whose physical presence in a speech situation is by chance.

In style shift, the effect of the addressee is the most remarkable and important. Bell (1984:161—78) cited several cases from the literature to verify this hypothesis. The influence of the addressee can be seen, for instance, by comparing an interview style and group style where in the former the addressee is the interviewer and in the latter other speakers such as one's family members, friends, etc. Differences between both styles are then related to different addressees' effects.

Bell also noted that linguistic variables behave differentially with respect to speech accommodation. Some variables might produce strong addressee effects, some little or weak, and some none at all. The normal maximum of addressee—designed shift is 67% (Bell 1984:164). The different addressees have different quantitative effects on style shift

with the main role being assigned to the addressee. As Bell (1984:175) puts it:

Quantitatively, we can postulate that there may be a geometric ordering of audience effects. That is, if the addressee effect is 0.5, the auditor effect is 0.25, and overhearer effect is 0.125. This is pure supposition and would require more evidence on the auditor and, crucially, the qualitative data we lack on the overhearer effect.

There are various reasons that impel a speaker to respond to his addressee. Bell (1984:167) mentioned three reasons which are as follows:

1. Speakers assess the personal characteristics of their addressees, and design their style to suit;
2. Speakers assess the general style level of their addressees' speech, and shift relative to it;
3. Speakers assess their addressees' levels for specific linguistic variables, and shift relative to these levels.

All three reasons are equally utilized by speakers in their speech accommodation.

As to non-audience design or its non-personal factors, these include such things as topic and setting. Topics like education, cooking, etc., and settings like university, home, etc., are clearly a reflection of what we think is associated with them. Discussing an academic subject, for example, recalls to mind an educated person. Style differences due to these factors are thus easily explainable.

Finally, initiative audience design is when the speaker shifts not towards but away from his audience or addressees. In initiative style design, people are addressed as if they were someone else. It is most clear when the speaker diverges from his addressee towards a third party, a referee, who is physically absent in the interaction but whose role and influence is big enough to affect the speaker's speech. Bell (1984:186) dubbed this initiative style design as the exceptional and marked aspect of audience design and found it harder for research than the other types of audience design. He also distinguished various types of initiative style design which fall beyond the scope of this thesis and the inquisitive reader is referred to the original article (Bell 1984:182-91) for further information.

3.2.3 Speech Data Quantification

3.2.3.1 Isolating Linguistic Variables

In selecting linguistic variables, Labov (1972a:8) has identified a number of criteria.

First, a linguistic variable should be frequent enough to allow for statistical analysis. Secondly, it should be structured such that it manifests certain linguistic constraints. Thirdly, it should be stratified capable of showing social and/or stylistic variation. Fourthly, it should be salient so that speakers can be made aware of it in order for their language attitudes and comments to be studied. Finally, it should be immune from conscious suppression so that speakers cannot avoid using it.

As each linguistic variable consists of two variants or more, Labov (1972a:72) introduced the parentheses () to enclose a linguistic variable such as (t) and the angled brackets < > to indicate its variable output. For instance, the notation (t) > <t> means that /t/ can be realized either as [t], [tʔ] or [ʔ].

By virtue of their social and stylistic variation, linguistic variables can be markers, indicators, or stereotypes (Labov 1972a:314–17, 237). A marker shows social and stylistic variation while an indicator shows social stratification only. Stereotypes are similar to markers but are socially marked and which often arouse social comment, criticism, laughter and ridicule.

3.2.3.2 Quantification of or Calculating the Scores of Linguistic Variables

Calculating the scores for a particular variable involves counting all its occurrences in the speech data. Labov (1972a:72) called this the principle of accountability according to which:

... we will report values for every case where the variable element occurs in the relevant environments ... That is, to report the variable form proportion of cases compared to the total number of ones in which it might have occurred.

There are different methods for calculating scores for linguistic variables (see Hudson 1980:160–67; Chambers and Trudgill 1980:62–62). I will give one example below from Trudgill (1974) which not only reflects the Labovian tradition (Labov 1972a:72–78; Trudgill 1974; Macaulay 1977; Petyt 1985, etc.) in this matter but also shows how the calculation is arrived at. Trudgill (1974:82) illustrated his method of statistical analysis in his Norwich study as follows. The variable (t) has three variants: [t^h–t], [tʔ] and [ʔ]. These variants were given numerical values (t)–1, (t)–2, and (t)–3 respectively. The assignment of these numerical values is not haphazard and is based on social and stylistic

considerations. The numerical value 1 is associated with formal styles and middle class speech while 3 is linked with casual style and working class speech and 2 is intermediate between both extremes. To calculate the scores for the variable (t) for one informant in, say, word list style was done in the following manner:

No. of instances	Variant Type	Calculation
3	(t)-1	$3 \times 1 = 3$
3	(t)-2	$3 \times 2 = 6$
6	(t)-3	$6 \times 3 = 18$
-		-----
12		27

Average score $27/12 = 2.25$

From this average score of 2.25 for the variable (t) as a whole an index score was calculated by subtracting 1 and multiplying by a 100. The resultant index score is 125. Consistent use of (t)-1 yields a score of 000, (t)-2 125, and (t)-3 200. Working out group scores was done on the same basis.

This method has been criticised by a number of scholars (e.g. Romaine 1978:147; Hudson 1980:161-62) for a number of reasons. The assignment of social meaning to the numerical values such that (t)-1 is middle-class, etc., was found problematic. In binominal variables it is easy and straightforward to say that a particular variant is prestigious, middle-class, very formal, etc. while in multi-nominal variables the procedure of assigning values is arbitrary. In variables of three or more variants it is very arbitrary to assign numerical values on the basis of social meaning alone. How can one assign values for three equally non-standard variants of a given variable? The above method has also been criticised for obscuring the contribution of each variant to the averaged index score. For instance, the index score of 125 for (t) above does not show how much (t)-1, (t)-2, etc., contributed to that. Also, although Trudgill claimed that the index score of 125 corresponds closely to (t)-2 rather than anything else, there is no guarantee that this is always so. For instance, this 125 score might also indicate an equal contribution of (t)-2 and (t)-3 as happens when there are 6 instances for each one of them and none for (t)-1. Finally, the method has been found unsuitable for consonantal variables which are discrete rather than continuous as is the case with vowels (on this last point see Romaine 1978:147).

3.3 Summary

In this chapter we have given a brief survey of the research methods employed by sociolinguists in obtaining their speech data including the sampling of informants, the measurement of the informants' social ranks, the collection, description and quantification of speech data. In the following chapter, our own research methods are described.

Chapter 4

Research Methods and Analysis

4.0 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to describe the methodological and analytical procedures employed in this study. Before we do this, a rapid and brief review of research methods in the field of Arabic sociolinguistics is given. This review is necessary for two reasons. First we want to show how speech data were gathered in Arabic settings. Secondly, we want to relate our own methods to both Western and Arabic sociolinguistic methodology.

4.1 Review of Sociolinguistic Methods in Arabic Studies

Arabic sociolinguistics is very little known if not ignored at all. Campbell (1986:155) expressed his astonishment in a footnote at the non-existence – to his knowledge – of Arabic sociolinguistic works by stating that:

It is amazing that no scholar has, to my knowledge, approached spoken Arabic from Labov's variable rule standpoint.

Even the International Journal of the Sociology of Language (No.61, 1986) in its special issue on Arabic Sociolinguistics contained only two short articles that can be really called sociolinguistic. This state of affairs is probably due to the fact that very few studies have been undertaken so far in this area of the world, all of which were or were based on doctoral research. All of these studies are reviewed below.

The earliest sociolinguistic study in Arabic is Schmidt (1974). This is an investigation of the Egyptian dialect of Cairo Arabic for which a judgement sample of 28 informants were drawn. 16 informants (8M, 8F) were students at the American University of Cairo and 12 males with secondary education or less were recruited at a café house in a working class area in Cairo. Four contextual styles were isolated in the usual Labovian manner which are casual style, careful style, reading style and word list style. 9 linguistic variables (4 phonological and 5 grammatical) were studied.

Two studies dealt with language variation in the speech of educated speakers at the supra-regional Arab level. The first was El-Hassan's (1977, 1978) study of one grammatical feature, the demonstrative system, in the speech of 90 informants (76M, 14F)

from five Arab countries: Jordanians and Palestinians (39), Egyptians (26), Syrians (17) and Lebanese (8). All were educated, aged 17–60 years old and their occupations included (i) high school and university students, (ii) teachers and lecturers, (iii) civil servants, (iv) private business employees such as barristers, accountants, book editors/agents, and translators, (v) singers, musicians and actors, (vi) writers and journalists, (vii) politicians and diplomats, (viii) doctors and engineers, and (ix) housewives (El-Hassan 1978:33; 1977:120). The informants were contacted by several interviewers and recorded in their place of work for 15–20 minutes each on average. More precisely, 24 informants were recorded from radio and TV interviews while the rest were recorded in groups of two or more people talking freely about themselves, their work and specialization as well as the problems facing the Arab world especially the cultural ones. As he puts it (El-Hassan 1978:33):

... the speakers were encouraged to speak freely about themselves, their work and area of specialization. But the free discussion often diversified to cover several topics ... the problems facing the Arab world, particularly cultural problems.

Although El-Hassan recorded every informant in one group speech situation, he isolated two styles on the basis of who talked with who: that is, whether the speakers talked with their fellow countrymen or other Arab nationals. This was done for the Egyptians and Jordanians only. But his styles cannot be directly comparable since the speakers were not the same in each case. Finally, El-Hassan's analysis was done from two viewpoints, the implicationist (Bailey 1973) and the variable (Labov 1972a), both of which it equally supported (El-Hassan 1978:48).

The second study was Sallam (1980) which examined the phonetic variable (q) in a judgement sample of 40 subjects, aged 17–70 years old, from Egypt (11), Palestine (9), Syria (7), Jordan (7), and Lebanon (6) who were all representative of the 'educated class' (Sallam 1980:78). His analysis was, however, based on data from 20 informants equally divided by country and sex and whose occupations fell into five groups: (i) celebrities such as actors and musicians, (ii) students, (iii) culture-propagating men and women, (iv) teachers, and (v) politicians. His data was gathered in the form of 'intercommunication

between Arabs of different countries' in groups of two or more and consisted of 'conversations and discussions' on a wide variety of topics and 'interpersonal relationships' (Sallam 1980:78). Two styles were distinguished on the basis of topic mainly: one formal, one informal. An academic and a home topic are, for example, linked with formal and informal styles respectively.

There are four studies that handled language variation in individual countries, three of which appeared in the same year. Holes (1981) is an investigation of 6 phonological variables and a similar number of morphophonemic variables in Bahraini Arabic. His phonological variables were published (1980, 1983, 1986). He drew a judgement sample of 87 subjects divided by sect into Sunnis and Shiis, region into urban and rural for the Shiis, and literacy into literates and illiterates (Holes 1981:84). There were 44 males and 43 females but sex differences were not analyzed. His speech data were collected in the form of half-hour interviews on a wide range of topics such as (i) old and new ways of life in Bahrain, (ii) old and new marriage customs, (iii) religious festivals, (iv) work, (v) personal interests, (vi) dangerous personal experiences, and (vii) jokes in Bahrain. The literate and illiterate speakers were interviewed by the investigators and their relatives respectively (Holes 1981:78). Only one style was isolated. Like El-Hassan, Holes (1981) analyzed his data implicationally (Bailey 1973, Bickerton 1971, 1973, 1975) and variably (Labove 1972a) and gave support for both models of language variation.

Shorrab (1981) conducted a study of Palestinian Arabic in exile by drawing a judgement sample of 26 subjects equally divided between students at the State University of New York at Buffalo and members of the Palestinian community in Buffalo, USA. The subjects are evenly distributed by sex. Shorrab distinguished three social groups on the basis of their original dialect background, namely, Madanis (urban), Fallaheen (rural farmers), and Bedouins (rural tribesmen). Structured (i.e. questionnaire-based) interviews were used in gathering his speech data in the same manner as in Labov (1966, 1972a) and Trudgill (1974). Like Schmidt (1974), he isolated four speech styles: casual, careful, reading passage, and word list. The study included seven phonetic variables and some grammatical variables. The latter were mostly qualitatively described.

Abdel-Jawad (1981) is a description of two phonetic variables in the Jordanian Arabic of Amman. A judgement sample of 154 subjects was drawn from three areas in Amman, a first class area (41), popular areas (82), and refugee camps (31). Like Shorrab (1981) above, three social groups were identified: Madanis (urban = 60), Fallaheen (rural farmers = 56), and Bedouins (rural tribesmen = 38). There are 61 women and 93 men. In addition, three educational groups were distinguished on the basis of their educational attainment, namely, the uneducated (35), high school (59), and college (60). Five categories of occupation were distinguished: (i) executives and professionals (12), (ii) civil servants (61), (iii) students (26), (iv) businessmen (20), (v) workers (13), and (vi) housewives (22), but occupation was marginal to his analysis and was hardly used. Also occupation and education were used at one point in the thesis (Abdel-Jawad 1981:262) to produce a socioeconomic index which consisted of five groups. This was also marginal and need not concern us here. On the interaction between education and occupation, Abdel-Jawad (1981:350) concluded that:

Naturally there is some overlap between the educational attainment of the speakers and their occupation. The higher the education one has, the more likely his occupation will rank highly on the occupational scale... It seems rather arbitrary to assign the greater weight to either education or occupation ... However we can generally assume that occupation and education are important social variables which influence the linguistic behaviour of speakers.

Age was also included and three age groups were delimited: the young (18-29), the middle aged (30-44), and the old (45+). He imposed one condition on age which was that the latter two age groups should have lived at least 25 years in Amman to be included in the sample (Abdel-Jawad 1981:80). The informants were interviewed face-to-face by the investigator assisted by two other females as well (Abdel-Jawad 1981:54-55, 62-63). Standard questionnaires were used in the same manner as in Labov (1966, 1972a) and Trudgill (1974). Three styles were identified: casual, semiformal, and formal. These were defined as in Labov (1972a) with certain modifications such as topic, familiarity between interactants and their social network (for more details see Abdel-Jawad 1981:101-17). No reading styles were included which were replaced by what he called public style recorded for 13 additional public speakers from radio, TV,

mosques and classrooms. The borders between all four styles were not all clear. And as he puts it (Abdel-Jawad 1981:117):

The borders between these four stylistic contexts can be fuzzy sometimes, especially the intermediate ones ... Therefore they have to be interpreted as approximations instead of clear-cut cases.

Finally, the latest study is Al-Amadihi (1985) which examined two phonetic variables in Qatari Arabic. An all-male judgement sample of 45 subjects was drawn from Doha, the capital city, and which consisted of two age groups, 34 20-35 year-olds, and 11 50+ year-olds. Four social groups were represented on the basis of tribal membership: the Qabayil (tribes), Howala (returnees), Bedouins, and Ajam (Persians). These four groups live in different quarters of the city of Doha and have different historical origins: the Qabayil are the earliest dwellers of the city, the Howala are Arabs by origin but returned from Iran after they had migrated there long time ago, the Bedouins came from the desert, and the Ajam are originally Persian and came from Iran (for more details see Al-Amadihi 1985:35-39). The 20-35 year-olds were further divided by education into three groups: the primary-educated (12), the secondary-educated (11), and university-graduates (11). All the elderly were illiterate as education in Qatar started in 1950. The target number of informants in each cell was three (Al-Amadihi 1985:46), thus giving a total of 48 informants, three of whom were later omitted for unclear and noisy recording. In interviewing his informants, Al-Amadihi used a structured questionnaire as in Labov (1966) and Trudgill (1974). A wide range of topics were discussed except politics (Al-Amadihi 1985:62). He isolated three speech styles: casual, formal, and reading of (a) 12 lines of standard poetry and (b) 12 lines of colloquial poetry. Casual and formal styles were distinguished by topic as in Douglas-Cowie (1978). The author claimed that he is the first to have introduced or used the colloquial poetry reading style compared with the standard poetry reading one (Al-Amadihi 1985:318).

Thus Arabic sociolinguistic studies have a number of characteristics in common. All used judgement samples. The social variable most used was education although its definitions varied from study to study. Other social variables such as sect or tribal origin were also included in some studies. Sex was not represented in all studies. Speech data

was mostly collected in the form of interviews based on structured questionnaires and the isolation of styles largely depended on the Labovian framework. Finally all studies were committed to the Labovian paradigm of language variation though some also referred to the implicationist paradigm.

Now we turn to the description of our own methodology.

4.2 Sociolinguistic Methodology of This Study

4.2.1 The Locale and Time of the Fieldwork

Fieldwork for this study was conducted in Damascus in the period 20 May–31 August 1985. The first two weeks were spent as exploratory visits to almost every place in which the immigrants have lived since the Israeli occupation of the Golan Heights in 1967. These places are scattered across an area stretching from the Syrian–Israeli borders on the Golan Heights in the District of Quneitra to Damascus City and the towns and villages around it in the District of Damascus. Of the immigrant population of the Golan Heights only one social group was chosen for the purposes of this study. These are known as Al–FaDI (see Ch.2 above). The decision for this choice has been taken for the following reasons:

- (i) my native knowledge of and membership to this social group. As an insider, many fieldwork constraints such as the informant's suspicions, doubts, insecurity and unwillingness to co–operate could be eliminated.
- (ii) their dialect of Arabic being different from that of the host community, which is an ideal situation for
- (iii) the investigation of not only linguistic variation in immigrant speech per se but also of dialect contact such as the influence of the local vernacular on the immigrant one and its acquisition by the immigrants.

4.2.2 The Sample

4.2.2.1 The Sampling Method

A random sample was found to be not only impossible to get but also impracticable for many reasons. First, statistical data are not only inaccurate and inadequate but are also unavailable whether as to the size or the residential distribution of this immigrant

group. Secondly, the immigrants are not located in any one area in large numbers but are scattered in small groups of a number of houses somewhere in the town, etc. in which they live. Thirdly, the immigrants are continually involved in changing their residence areas by moving from one town into another, either of their own free will or under the instructions of the local authorities as happened when a whole non-hygienic residential area, locally known as al-Zuftiyya, was demolished in Damascus City from which the immigrants were evacuated to other places outside of the City. Finally, most immigrants are registered as residents not in the towns in which they were living when this research was conducted but in other towns in which they previously lived for some time.

Therefore, a judgement sample was drawn in the selection of which a number of criteria had to be met. These were:

- (i) all the informants should be (FaDI) immigrants from the Golan Heights after its occupation by Israel in 1967;
- (ii) all the informants should have lived in either Damascus City or its close suburbs since 1967;
- (iii) all the informants should have immigrant parents as well;
- (iv) the informants should be willing to co-operate in the project after proper reasons have been given for that; and
- (v) the target sample should be not less than 25 subjects with at least two but not more than four informants to be represented in each cell. This criterion was based on the survey of the literature made above (Chapter 3).

The informants were then approached through their social networks, friends and acquaintances. I also depended on my own social networks in the area which proved very useful in this respect. Informants were usually paid two visits. The first one was simply to serve as an introduction and establish a rapport with them. People were very friendly, warm, hospitable, and generous. They offered not only of their time but also provided me with tea, coffee, and food. Transportation and accommodation were also provided when they were needed. During this visit various topics were broached especially those

that immediately concerned the interactants. Careful attention was paid to hit at any opportunity which could be directly utilized in introducing the subject of our sociolinguistic mission. When people, for example, mentioned their neighbours and their dealings with them, I enquired whether they were locals and how they talked with them. I also asked whether they understood each other's talk or faced difficulties in communicating with each other or changed their speech with them. The moment it was secured that my hosts were very interested in the subject, I informed them of my intention to collect speech data that could be used for the purpose of teaching English as a foreign language from a sociolinguistic viewpoint in Syria and of my need for their co-operation in this project. Almost everyone we talked to agreed to take part in it. When this objective was achieved, an appointment was made for another visit to record the desired informants.

Refusals to participate in the project were very few and of various kinds. Three uneducated men refused to be recorded because two of them were afraid that I was a journalist and did not want themselves to be shown on TV while the third did not like foreigners (i.e. Europeans) to listen to his talk. All three were later convinced of the true reality of our intentions through their close friends and were consequently recorded by me in one case and by my brothers in the two others. There was one primary-educated female for whom I was asked to get official agreement from her place of work for recording her, but this case was not pursued since enough similar cases had already been obtained and her speech was no different from theirs. One person, although he initially offered to help in this research and who was a close friend and a postgraduate student of Arabic at Damascus University, changed his mind later as the project seemed to him to be Western-modelled. This person was not followed up because he fell outside of the age groups of this study. Thus there was in practice one refusal case that was not followed up which is very insignificant compared to the refusals faced in Labov (1972a), Petyt (1985), etc. Finally, one has to mention not only those cases of refusals on part of the informants themselves, but also those ones that were necessitated by the nature of this research. Many informants, who were willing to be recorded, were not included in the sample because they were either outside the age groups desired for this research, or

enough similar cases had already been had.

4.2.2.2 Characteristics of the Sample

4.2.2.2.1 Education

In Western cities such as Glasgow (Macaulay 1977) occupation seems to be the most relevant factor for gauging one's social status and consequently influencing one's language use. In the Arab world it is education that is the most pertinent indicator of one's social status and which ensures automatic entry into well-paid occupations. The review given above of Arabic sociolinguistic studies testifies to this fact. Also the background chapter (i.e. Chapter 2) on Syrian society points to the same conclusion.

For the immigrants of this study the importance of education outweighs everything else. Schools were first opened in their villages on the Golan Heights in 1951. Their educational deprivation compared to the rest of the Golan Heights' population was noted by Zakariyya (1957) and Bagh (1961). The immigrants thus found in education a means to improve their social and economic status.

In this study four social groups were defined on the basis of their educational achievement. Setting up levels of education, however, is quite difficult and cannot be gauged simply by the number of years spent at school (cf. Abdel-Jawad 1981:81) as there are cases of self-educated people whose personal readings and social networks enrich their educational status. There are people who went to school and spent up to four years without being able to read or write. Also the educational system has a number of intermediate levels that are half-way between lower and higher ones. In Syria, for instance, secondary education consists of six years, the first three of which are preparatory and the last three are secondary proper. Post-secondary education can be gained at university (4 years or more) or at intermediate institutes (2 years). Adjustments, therefore, had to be made (cf. Abdel-Jawad 1981:82; Al-Amadihi 1985:46) to allow for systematic study. The four educational groups were finally defined as follows:

- (1) the non-educated (NE): illiterate, inability to read or write.
- (2) the primary-educated (PE): 5-7 years of formal education.
- (3) the secondary-educated (SE): 11-12 years of formal education.

- (4) the university-educated (UE): including those with institute and university education.

There are 28 informants in all groups distributed as follows: 8 NE, 7 PE, 5 SE and 8 UE.

4.2.2.2.2 Occupation

Occupation was not included as a social variable in this study either in its own right or in combination with education to produce a socio-economic index as has been done in a number of studies surveyed above. There are many reasons for excluding occupation from this sociolinguistic analysis. First, one's education in Syria automatically ensures his likely occupation. Usually, the higher the education the higher the occupation. Secondly, the fluidity of the social class system in Syria and the lack of systematic research in this field. Thirdly, the difficulty of treating immigrants from a social class viewpoint due to the instability of their socioeconomic status. Finally, the general orientation of Arabic sociolinguistic works towards education as a prime social variable that is capable of correlating with language use more than any other variable.

The informants were engaged in various occupations depending on their educational status. The NE were all unskilled manual workers or were unemployed in the case of females. All worked in building and construction projects. The PE were all semi-skilled and included car drivers, and a factory worker; all females in this group were unemployed except for one who worked at hospital. The SE included three men in different businesses: one running one's own business as a car-driver who also used to work in a construction company, one as an assistant engineer, and a third with no specific job. The females of this group worked, one at an insurance company and one at a bank but later resigned as she got married. The UE were all teachers or civil servants. All women were teachers.

4.2.2.2.3 Age

Two age groups were represented: the young and the old. These were selected deliberately in order to study the ways according to which the immigrants would respond to the new language situation which they have experienced since 1967 and to see whether

there is any linguistic change in progress. In the selection of these age groups the following conditions were imposed:

(1) The young informants should have arrived at the host areas as 12 year olds or less. This criterion has been taken in view of second language acquisition considerations (see Harley 1986 for a review) which favour the younger over the older groups in acquiring (a) second language(s) or dialect(s). The relevance of this criterion to the immigrant situation under hand is very clear since the immigrants have moved into a new dialect area which will eventually influence their speech in various ways. It is also in this age group that all the educational levels set up above can be found. Older age groups are either semi- or un-educated at all.

(2) The under-twenty year-olds should not be included in the data. This research strategy was taken because of limitations in time and financial resources. This means that the young age group consists of the 20-30 year-olds exclusively.

(3) The old age group should include informants of 50 years or over. The age range for this group was 50-100.

There are 28 young informants and 10 old ones. This brings the sample to a total of 38 subjects. All the old informants are uneducated except for two males who are able to read and write.

4.2.2.2.4 Sex

Sex is very important as a social indicator of language use and language change. Both sexes are represented in this study. For the young group the two sexes are evenly distributed (14 M and 14F). But for the old group there are six men and four women. The percentage of women in the whole sample is 47.36%. Generally speaking, both sexes are equally represented.

4.2.2.2.5 Area

There are no available statistics on the immigrants' places of residence after 1967 and all this had to be determined by the investigator on the basis of his native knowledge of the area and that of his informants. One of the difficulties of this research was that the immigrants often have changed their places of residence at least two times or more over

the past twenty years or so. In choosing immigrants by area the following conditions were imposed:

- (i) The immigrants should all be drawn from areas whose dialect is different from theirs.
- (ii) The immigrants should all be drawn from Damascus City or the adjacent towns that share the same speech characteristics in general.
- (iii) The immigrants should all have stayed in these areas since 1967.

When these conditions were satisfied, selecting the informants proceeded. It was found that the majority of the immigrants lived in the towns adjacent to Damascus City. Those who even lived in the City were moving out of it to these neighbouring towns. In Damascus City, the immigrants were drawn from two areas: Masakin Barza and Duwaili3a. Masakin Barza was one of the first residential areas in which many immigrants settled immediately after their mass immigration from the Golan Heights. This area consisted of co-operative-owned buildings that were being erected at the time of their occupation by the immigrants and lacked electricity, water and proper plumbing facilities. Although their conditions were later improved a little, most immigrants left this area into a nearby area called Duwaili3a. Duwaili3a, which did not figure in any statistical abstract before 1977, was essentially an agricultural area with orchards of various fruit trees and fields. It lies on the way between Damascus City and Mlei2at Balat. As the area is very close to Damascus City, the orchards were destroyed and their owners illegally sold the land to be used for buildings. The immigrants were amongst those who bought a small piece of land to erect a house on it. Now this area is administratively regarded as one of the areas of Damascus City. Both of Masakin Barza and Duwaili3a will be referred to as urban Damascus or inner City areas.

Outside Damascus City, the immigrants were mainly drawn from Katana, a town 24 kilometres from the City in which the majority of the immigrants lived. Six kilometres away from Katana is a smaller town called Artuz into which some immigrants who originally settled in Katana moved. Both Katana and Artuz will be called suburban Damascus or outer City areas (see Figure 4 of Chapter 3 above).

The distribution of the informants by area is as follows. 11 speakers came from urban Damascus and 27 from suburban Damascus. Area was included as a social parameter in this thesis to look for whether there exist any differences between the speech behaviour of urban and suburban immigrants.

4.2.2.2.6 Summary of the Social Variables

The distribution of the 38 immigrant informants across the social parameters of education, sex, age, and area is summarized in Table 4.1 below.

Table 4.1. Distribution of Informants Across the Social Variables in this Study

1. <u>Education</u>	<u>Young (20-30 yrs)</u>			<u>Old (50+ yrs)</u>			<u>Total</u>
	M	F	All	M	F	All	
Non-educated (NE)	4	4	8	6	4	10	18
Primary-educated (PE)	3	4	7	-	-	-	7
Secondary-educated (SE)	3	2	5	-	-	-	5
University-educated (UE)	4	4	8	-	-	-	8
Total	14	14	28	6	4	10	38

2. <u>Area</u>							
Urban Damascus	4	5	9	2	-	2	11
Suburban Damascus	10	9	19	4	4	8	27
Total	14	14	28	6	4	10	38

4.2.2.2.7. Criticism of the Sample

The sample can be criticised on two counts. First, the under-twenty year-olds and the middle-aged (31-49 year-olds) are not represented. Both age groups were ignored due to (i) limitations in time and resources, and (ii) the fact that both age groups were not found, through my observations of their speech, to be different from the age groups selected for this study. That is, the middle-aged, were closer to the old while the teenagers to the young. This, however, does not justify the fact that the speech of especially the teenagers does not merit further investigation in its own right. Future research should be concerned with the speech patterns of not only teenagers but also children.

The second limitation of this study is in the representation of the educational groups from the urban areas who fall into those with no education at all (M=1, F=1), primary education (M=1, F=2), secondary education (M=0, F=0), and university education (M=2, F=2). The non-representation of the secondary-educated is unimportant at all since all the secondary-educated either attended schools or worked in Damascus City itself. In fact all the suburban immigrants commuted daily to Damascus City for either work or study. Therefore the whole distinction between urban and suburban Damascus is qualitative at the most, as we shall see later in the sociolinguistic analysis.

4.2.3 Speech Data Collection, Description, and Analysis

4.2.3.1 Speech Elicitation Techniques

The review of speech data collection methods whether in Western or Arabic sociolinguistic studies presented in Chapter 3 above and at the beginning of this one has shown that these methods were mainly applied to settled and non-immigrant populations. Even the studies that concerned themselves with immigrant speech per se (Payne 1976, 1980; Bortoni-Ricardo 1985; Kerswill 1985) used the same classical Labovian methodology of interviewing informants on the basis of structured questionnaires from which one style, the interview style, was isolated. This methodology is inappropriate to immigrant populations and is deficient in that it will provide us with a limited view of the stylistic range which the immigrants utilize in their daily conversations with the others, immigrants or locals. It was observed that the immigrants used different speech styles depending on the dialectal background of their addressees. This point was one of the main objectives that this research methodology had to achieve.

In recording speech data from the immigrant informants, a number of criteria were set which were:

- (i) structured (i.e. questionnaire-based) interviews should not be used;
- (ii) every immigrant informant should be mainly recorded in natural speech situations or encounters involving immigrants and locals;
- (iii) each speech encounter should be conducted one-to-one no matter whether the interactants (i.e. the interviewee and his addressee) were in a

group or not; and

- (iv) speech encounter topics should be uniform for all subjects to ensure comparability of styles. All topics should be of the normal, everyday type used amongst family members, friends, relatives, and neighbours.

The techniques used in eliciting speech data from the immigrants are taken up one by one below.

4.2.3.1.1 The Immigrant-to-Immigrant Speech Encounter

The aim of this speech encounter was to elicit the type of speech that the immigrants usually use at their homes with their parents, wives, children, relatives, friends, and co-immigrants. This was very easy to get and presented no problems on the whole. I, an immigrant myself, simply chatted with and recorded almost everyone of my 38 informants in our own immigrant dialect for about 30 minutes on average, except for two male cases for which recordings were done by two of my brothers and two others for which the informants, a newly-wed husband and his wife, recorded their own conversation themselves. All these four cases were contacted previously by me.

The topics of these speech encounters were of the everyday type. Politics, religion, and serious or academic topics were excluded because these are often associated with formal styles (Douglas-Cowie 1978) which were not amongst the aims of this study to investigate. Politics and religion were specifically avoided not only in keeping with the British tradition that close friends never indulge in arguing about them but also to remove any sense of suspicion, doubts, and insecurity on part of the informants in discussing these matters. Almost all speech encounters had the same structure. A typical speech encounter would start with greeting the informant and end with thanking him for his co-operation in the project. In between the topics were spontaneously introduced with one leading to the other. These topics included the following:

- (i) demographic data about the informant like his place/date of birth, residence area, etc.;
- (ii) family, neighbours, friends, relatives, etc.;
- (iii) wedding customs; marriages; love affairs; etc.;

- (iv) medical tradition or popular medicine of olden times still known in the area;
- (v) memories, narratives, personal experiences, the immigration story;
- (vi) fights, deaths, dreams;
- (vii) one's work whether at home or at work;
- (viii) sports, songs, folk—dance (dabka), films, the Arabian horse;
- (ix) food customs, especially the mansaf (traditional food for ceremonies), and Arabian coffee;
- (x) camping, travels, holidays, etc.;
- (xi) general questions on language attitudes such as changing one's speech, understanding other dialects, etc.

Almost all of these topics were recorded in every case. The role of the investigator in each conversation was to introduce these topics as spontaneously as possible and to act as an addressee for the immigrant informant. The informant was given the greatest turn timewise in the conversation and the investigator took as minimal a role as was possible because care was taken to get as much speech data as possible in the time allowed for this section of the speech encounter. The informants' speech roles and responses varied from informant to informant and from topic to another. Some informants were more chatty than others and some topics allowed for longer speech roles than others. For instance, all informants talked longer about love affairs than about demographic data.

Almost all of the conversations were relaxed and funny. Teas, coffees, and fruits were served during all of them except for those conducted in Ramadan, the Muslim 'generous' month of fasting, where I was asked to wait until the evening when one's fasting can only be broken, but in most cases I had to thank and apologize. Informants were funny and humorous and there was hardly any conversation that did not contain many spells of laughter here and there. All of this added to the liveliness and naturalness of the conversations.

4.2.3.1.2 The Immigrant—to—Local Speech Encounter

This speech encounter was intended to investigate whether the immigrant informants would shift away from their original dialect towards the local dialect of their addressees when conversing with them. In recording this speech encounter, the following procedure was adopted:

Every immigrant informant should be recorded with a local speaker from the host dialect area for about half an hour over a variety of topics which are of the same type as those referred to in the above section.

Obtaining speech data from the immigrant informants in this speech situation was mostly difficult and problematic. Although all agreed to it, there were difficulties in finding local speakers who were willing to co-operate in the project and in creating a rapport between them and the informants as complete strangers would not talk freely, normally and conveniently. A number of measures were taken to overcome these constraints. These were:

(i) The first step was to let each immigrant informant choose for himself one of his own local friends to be recorded with for about 30 minutes. Although all welcomed this suggestion, only ten or twelve tape recordings were received this way, most of which took a long time to be carried out. In some cases, I had to wait for two months and when I asked the informants about their recordings, they often said, 'When do you want to leave?'. And when I said, 'Next month', they said, 'Oh, it's still too early'. In all these recordings I was not present but most of the locals recorded were known to or seen by me.

(ii) The second step was for me to arrange for a local speaker. This was not easy because it was very difficult to find one person who will give free of his time to be recorded with the remaining 28 speakers or so. But I was fortunate in finding a 70-year old illiterate local who was guarding a building blocks factory close to my family's home. This man was approached and informed of the purpose of my stay and readily agreed to receive and get recorded with my prospective informants in his room day or night or come to my own home for that purpose. Eight of the old informants and 13 of the

young ones were recorded with him separately. In all of these recordings I was present but remained mostly silent to handle the tape-recorder, and serve tea.

(iii) The third step was for me to call in person at the informant's place of work after prior arrangement was made and ask him to submit himself to be recorded in two situations: one with me and another with a local work colleague of his. Only two cases were obtained this way, both of which were at Damascus University.

Of the 38 immigrant informants, only 4 speakers were not recorded in this type of speech encounter. One was an old man and three were young, who included a non-educated male, a primary-educated female and a secondary-educated female.

4.2.3.1.3 Reading Materials

Reading materials were intended, as in Labov (1972a) and Trudgill (1974), to see whether the immigrant informants would shift away from their original dialect towards the standard dialect. Two types of reading materials were used. The first was a hand-written word list containing all the phonological variables investigated with 10-15 words on each variable. The informants were asked to read these word lists during their immigrant-to-immigrant interviews. This took about two or three minutes to do. Only the literate speakers were able to handle this task. All in all, there were 20 speakers who were administered this test, two of whom were old men.

The second type of reading was from memory. This test was administered to the illiterate speakers only by asking them to recite some Quranic verses which they memorized by heart such as the first and the last five surahs of the Holy Quran. These were read in 2-3 minutes on average. Only eight informants were capable of reciting Quranic verses. Four (3F and 1M) were young and four (2M and 2F) were old. Reading from memory is, according to my knowledge, the first attempt in the sociolinguistic literature to handle the problem of obtaining the 'most formal' styles for the illiterates. All previous studies did not try to solve this problem at all.

4.2.3.2 Speech Data Description and the Isolation of Styles

Two conversational styles and two reading ones have been isolated in this study. These are taken up below.

4.2.3.2.1 Conversational Styles

4.2.3.2.1.1 Immigrant-to-Immigrant Style (IIS)

The immigrant-to-immigrant style (henceforth IIS) was based on the immigrant-to-immigrant speech encounter (4.2.3.1.1) in which immigrants conversed with one another without the participation of non-immigrants. The purpose of this style is to show the extent of language variation and change in immigrant speech, to see how far the original immigrant dialect is maintained, and whether the presence of an immigrant insider addressee (i.e. the investigator or interviewer) plays any role in language maintenance. In other words, this style is designed to show the ways in which immigrants talk with one another away from the locals and outsiders.

In this type of speech style no distinctions were made between casual and careful speech whether on the basis of the Labovian or other criteria mentioned in Chapter 3 above. There are bound to be differences in the informants' speech according to the wide range of topics that were elicited in the immigrant-to-immigrant speech encounter. But these differences were not investigated because (i) despite the wide variety of topics, all were targeted at the vernacular end of the language continuum as evidenced by the exclusion of academic topics, etc., (ii) these distinctions were not essentially planned to be investigated in this research, and (iii) the homogeneity of the topics elicited would produce, even when examined, very minor and unimportant differences. For all of these reasons, this section of the speech encounter between immigrants was taken as one whole and analyzed without any divisions, whether by topic or anything else.

4.2.3.2.1.2 Immigrant-to-Local Style (ILS)

The immigrant-to-local style (hereafter ILS) was founded on the immigrant-to-local speech encounter (4.2.3.1.2) in which immigrant speakers had local persons as their addressees. This style is aimed at showing the extent of language variation and change in immigrant speech and the scope of language shift away from the original immigrant dialect towards the receiving local one under the influence of the local addressees. In other words, this style is intended to show whether the immigrants will shift their speech towards their local interlocutors when conversing with them without the

participation of like immigrants.

As with the IIS, the ILS was not divided into casual or careful speech, etc. The reasons given in justification for that in the above style equally hold for this one as well.

4.2.3.2.2 Reading Styles

4.2.3.2.2.1 Word List Style (WLS)

Word List Style (henceforth WLS) applies to the literate speakers only who were able to handle the written word list administered to them and which was described above (4.2.3.1.3). Two speakers were omitted on two variables. Both were newly-wed, a husband and his wife, with university and secondary education respectively, whom I did not interview myself. These speakers read the variables in the immigrant vernacular. In fact, it was the husband who asked his wife to do so first. All the other variables were read by them as usual.

4.2.3.2.2.2 Quranic Recitation Style (QRS)

Quranic Recitation Style (hereafter (QRS) applies to those illiterate speakers who read certain Quranic verses from their memory mentioned above (4.2.3.1.3).

4.2.3.2.3 Limitations and Criticisms

The speech styles elicited above suffer from some limitations. As far as conversational styles are concerned, there are no group styles whether in the immigrant-to-immigrant or immigrant-to-local encounters. In fact, sociolinguistic research has shown that, in group sessions, the use of the vernacular would increase. In the immigrant situation at hand we would expect that the immigrants would speak with the locals differently when recorded one-to-one from when in group. This study has not explored whether recording two, three or more immigrants with one local speaker or more would have language shift/language maintenance consequences. The impression I have is that the immigrants will shift comparatively more when recorded one-to-one than when in group. I noticed that in my observations of immigrants when they were talking with locals in group. Some of my informants also told me that they would not shift to the local dialect if they were talking amongst a group of immigrants and locals at the same time.

The non-investigation of group styles for immigrants was intended. In fact, every immigrant informant was told at the beginning of the recording session not to respond to any interactants who might be present other than his immediate addressee. Even those who happened to be present in such an interaction were also asked not to interrupt the speaker (the informant) and his addressee. These decisions were taken in order for the interviews not to take longer than scheduled. Moreover, there were financial limitations, it was not also feasible to carry out all these recording tasks by one investigator. A team is often needed for such a task to be done. All this does not eliminate, however, the necessity to carry out such tasks in any future research.

4.2.3.3 Speech Data Analysis

4.2.3.3.1 Data Transcription

Writing out speech data from tape recordings is interesting but time-consuming, exhausting and boring. Not all sociolinguists approached this problem the same way. Some transcribed their data themselves, some were helped by others, and some had it fully transcribed to them by others (e.g. Macaulay 1977). Also, in some studies, the speech data was fully transcribed while in others half-transcribed by choosing certain sections of the recorded material. Much of the decision undoubtedly depends on whether the variables investigated are phonological (e.g. Trudgill 1974), grammatical (e.g. Cheshire 1982), or discourse (e.g. Van Dijk 1984; Dittmar 1987). It might be enough in the case of phonological variables to transcribe the affected cases and their immediate neighbourhoods. For instance, for the variable (t) which occurs as [t], [tʔ], and [ʔ] in a wide number of English dialects (e.g. Trudgill 1974; Macaulay 1977; Petyt 1985), it is enough to transcribe the relevant items with their pronunciations without the need to transcribe the whole text in which they occur.

In this study nearly every tape was transcribed in full by me, using a modified IPA notation. More precisely, every informant's and his addressee's speech was fully transcribed except for the old informants for whom only half of the addressee's but all the informant's speech was written down. A tape recording of one hour duration took ten hours on average to be finished. Despite the strenuous, exhaustive and

time-consuming nature of this effort spent this way, the whole procedure is worthwhile and has some advantages, two of which can be mentioned below:

(i) written material preserves longer than recorded and taped material. The latter gets eroded and jammed in a very short period of time which makes it very difficult to use later; and

(ii) the main advantage of transcribing the whole taped data is when there are about 10 linguistic variables to be investigated. It is easier and less time-consuming to refer to written material than to recorded one. The investigator may waste more time in going through his tape recordings every time he wants to look for some given variable than by checking his written records.

4.2.3.3.2 Computing and Counting the Tokens

Transcriptions were made onto files for each individual informant. Every file carried the social characteristics of the informant as to his sex, age, education, etc. Transcriptions were also made for every speech style in separate. From these transcriptions every desired linguistic variable was made a list of all the lexical items in which it actually occurred. These words were classified by variant and style for each individual informant separately. In counting the words, the following procedures were adopted:

(1) tabulating all the actual occurrences (words) of a particular variable in every speech style;

(2) tabulating the first three occurrences of those words that occurred more than that in the data; and

(3) excluding recent loan words from the data such as /si(k/g)a:ra/ 'cigarette', /bake:t/ 'packet', /t(a)rakto:r/ 'tractor', /gumbre:Sa/ 'compressor'. Older loans were retained such as /bal(k/ch)i:/ 'perhaps'. Both types of loans were very few anyway.

4.2.3.3.3 Computing and Calculating the Scores

The index score method as used by Trudgill (1974) and which was referred to above (3.2.3.2.) was not employed here. The main difficulty of applying this method to the immigrant data of this study lies in assigning social meanings for the numerical values of a

particular variable. For instance, one of the variables of this study is (q) which has at least three variants: [q], [ʔ], and [g]. The first is the standard variant, the second is the local vernacular variant, and the third is the immigrant vernacular variant. As the latter two are equally non-standard, it would be a completely arbitrary procedure to give one value (q)–2 and one value (q)–3 as Trudgill did with (t). The second difficulty is that the index score will not show us how much each variant of the above contributed to the averaged index score which is expressed for the variable as a whole. For example, an index score of 200 would not reveal to us whether the variants used were [ʔ] or [g] or a combination of both.

It was therefore decided to use a statistical technique which is free of these complexities. This was the percentage score technique which basically falls within the standard Labovian framework (Labov 1972a; Trudgill 1974; Macaulay 1977) and was used by Romaine (1978), Cheshire (1982), Al-Amadihi (1985), Coupland (1980, 1984), Sallam (1980), Abdel-Jawad (1981, 1986), Holes (1981, 1983), Gal (1984), Harris (1985), etc. etc. Percentage scores were calculated according to the following statistical formula:

$$\text{percentage score} = \frac{\text{Number of occurrences of a variant}}{\text{Total number of occurrences of a variable}} \times 100$$

To give one example, let us suppose that in the speech of one informant the variable (q) had a 100 tokens of which [q] occurred 10 times, [ʔ] 20 times and [g] 70 times. The percentage score for [q], [ʔ] and [g] would be $10/100 \times 100 = 10\%$, $20/100 \times 100 = 20\%$, and $70/100 \times 100 = 70\%$ respectively. In this manner, the contribution of each variant is clear and no social meanings are assigned.

The results to be presented in the sociolinguistic analysis later will be expressed for the group as in Labov (1972a), Trudgill (1974), Macaulay (1977), L. Milroy (1980), Bortoni-Ricardo (1985), Al-Amadihi (1985), etc., and not for the individual in separate as in, for example, Bickerton (1971, 1973, 1975), El-Hassan (1978), Douglas-Cowie (1978), etc. Calculating scores for a particular group was done by adding the whole tokens together as if they were for one speaker for which a percentage score was worked

out according to the above formula.

No statistical tests of significance were applied to the results. I have adopted Labov's (1970) position in this respect, cited in Trudgill (1974:91), and Petyt's (1985:74) which reads as follows:

It is immediately obvious to the sophisticated statistician that tests of significance are irrelevant ... even if a particular case were below the level of significance, the convergence of so many factors carries us into a level of confidence which is unknown in most social or psychological research.

This was also the position of Labov (1966, 1972a, 1972b), Trudgill (1974), Petyt (1977/1985), Macaulay (1977), Romaine (1978), the papers in Trudgill (1978), Cheshire (1982), Shorrab (1981), Holes (1981, 1983, 1986), Abdel-Jawad (1986), Sallam (1980), El-Hassan (1978), Coupland (1980), Harris (1985), etc. In fact, this is the attitude of most sociolinguists (see Wardhaugh 1986:150; L. Milroy 1980:121). Even those scholars who carried out significance tests on their data confessed that:

Sometimes of course the patterns of variation are so clear, and a number of converging trends so regular ... that statistical tests of significance seem redundant. (L. Milroy 1980:121)

Gal (1984:298) remarked on the non-application of significance tests to her data as being unnecessary. As she puts it:

The differences are strong enough to make statistical tests unnecessary.

Finally, it remains to be noted that in the interpretation of one's sociolinguistic findings, especially in the absence of statistical tests of significance, one should be cautious about overgeneralizing his conclusions and statements arrived at from little figures, ups and downs on a graph and from small samples. These were amongst the criticisms levelled by Petyt (1985:77) against Trudgill (1974). One must cite Petyt's (1985:77) humble description of his own work in this respect which reads:

... I do not feel my figures and graphs can be taken as detailed evidence for certain views — rather, they can be used to show up general trends and patterns.

Petyt's remark is justifiably right. And there is no reason why this remark should not equally hold for the present work as well. In fact there is much to support it.

4.3 Summary

In this chapter we have concerned ourselves with exposing the sociolinguistic methods of data collection and analysis that have been employed in this research. Probably the novel and most interesting aspect of these methods is the speech elicitation techniques that were applied to the immigrants by recording them especially in two speech situations: one with a like immigrant and one with a local speaker in order to examine the extent of their language maintenance and shift. In the following chapter, a contrastive phonology of the tridialectal situation is given.

Chapter 5

A Phonological Description of the Immigrant Dialectal Situation

5.0 Introduction

This chapter aims at providing a brief picture of the segmental phonology of the immigrant dialect which is the main subject of this sociolinguistic analysis. As this dialect has come into direct day-to-day contact with the local dialect in Damascus since mass immigration from the Golan Heights in 1967, both dialects will be contrasted. Contrasting immigrant speech and local speech will be made from the viewpoint of the standard variety or dialect form and with which they diverge or converge. This means that the immigrant dialectal situation is basically tri-dialectal. These three dialects will be referred to as immigrant Golan FaDl Arabic (hereafter IGFA) in designation of the fact that this dialect was originally spoken on the Golan Heights by the FaDl, its native speakers, but is now spoken as an immigrant dialect in a number of towns around and in Damascus City in which these immigrants have settled since 1967, Damascus Arabic (hereafter DA) of the host local areas such as Damascus City, Katana, etc., and Standard Arabic (henceforth SA), the superordinate variety. IGFA and DA are the colloquials or vernaculars used in everyday conversations while SA is the acrolect of mass media and educational institutions. Some scholars of Arabic (see Mitchell 1986) refer to this standard variety by various names for historical or other reasons none of which concern us here.

5.1 A Contrastive Phonological Analysis of SA, DA, and IGFA

5.1.1 The Vowels

5.1.1.1 The Vowels of SA

SA is one of the languages that is characterized by a simple, basic three vowel system (see Lass 1984:142). These vowels are distinguished by height, length, and place. That is, they are either high or low, long or short, back or front. Grammarians, whether classical (e.g. Sibawaihi 1975:vol.4; Ibn Sina 1968) or modern (Gairdner 1945:38, Cantineau 1960:91–92; Semaan 1968:46, 56–59; Al-Ani 1970), identified three long and three short vowels. These are:

1. (a) /i:/, long high front unrounded vowel. E.g. /ri:f/ 'countryside'
 (b) /i/, short high front unrounded vowel. E.g. /min/ 'from'
2. (a) /a:/, long low front or central unrounded vowel. E.g. /ka:n/ 'was'
 (b) /a/, short low front or central unrounded vowel. E.g. /man/ 'who'
3. (a) /u:/, long high back rounded vowel. E.g. /fu:l/ 'large beans'
 (b) /u/, short high back rounded vowel. E.g. /kun/ 'be'

These vowels can also have their respective allophones in certain phonetic environments none of which are important to us here (see Gairdner 1925; Al-Ani 1970:23–24).

SA has two diphthongs (Gairdner 1925; Cantineau 1960:102–03; Al-Ani 1970:35) which are composed of the initial element of /a/ plus the semivowels /y/ or /w/ or simply the vowels /i/ and /u/ to give /ai/ and /au/ respectively. E.g. /bait/ 'house', /yaum/ 'day'.

5.1.1.2 The Vowels of DA

5.1.1.2.1 Introduction

There are many traditional or dialectological descriptions of the dialect of Damascus City. The earliest partial description was Bergsträsser (1915) as part of a linguistic atlas of a great many dialects in Palestine, Syria, and the Lebanon. The first full phonetic description of DA was Bergsträsser (1925) which was later followed by other descriptions of its phonetics, morphology and syntax (Ferguson and Ani 1961; Cowell 1964; Grotzfeld 1965; Ambros 1977). None of these descriptions tells us when DA arose or developed as a separate dialect of Arabic. Also these studies do not mention the relationship of the speech of Damascus City to that of the neighbouring towns and villages. The dialect(s) of the adjacent towns of Katana, Artuz, J. Artuz, and Mu3aDDamiyya share all the segmental phonemes with DA as we shall see later. And the term DA will be taken in this sociolinguistic study, in contradistinction to the previous dialectological descriptions, to refer not only to Damascus City speech proper but also to the speech of these towns as well.

5.1.1.2.2 The Vowels of DA

DA writers (Ferguson and Ani 1961:6; Cowell 1964:9–17; Grotzfeld 1965:6, 9–13; Ambros 1977:16–17) noted that the phonemic vowel inventory of SA is generally retained in DA. However, DA developed two mid vowels /e:/ and /o:/ out of the diphthongs /ai/ and /au/. E.g. /bait/ > /beit/ 'house', /yaum/ > /yo:m/ 'day'. This rule is categorical except when the diphthongs are followed by /-y/ as in /haiyazh/ 'to arouse' or /-w/ as in /?auwal/ 'first' where the original diphthongs are preserved.

My observations and fieldwork speech data of both Damascus City and Katana support this analysis. But the distribution of the vowels in the eligible environments varies between DA and SA. For instance, SA has short vowels in /qul/ 'say!', /?amil/ 'bend, kneel, incline', while DA has long vowels in the same words: /qu:l ~ ?u:l/ and /mi:l/. To pursue this would be beyond the scope of this work and I am not going to take it any further.

5.1.1.3 The Vowels of IGFA

5.1.1.3.1 Introduction

There is only one partial dialectological description of the immigrant dialect prior to this one. This was a study conducted by Cantineau in 1936. Cantineau contrasted about 12 dialects, including the present one, with one another on a number of segmental phonemes, including vowels, some consonants, suprasegmental phonemes such as the syllable, morphemes including verb forms, some syntactic structures, and prepositions. Cantineau published his results in two articles (1936, 1937). He referred to these dialects by the name by which their native speakers were known. He referred to the dialect under hand as the F(aDI) dialect for which emergence no dates were given. The results of his research were also referred to here and there in a number of other publications later (e.g. Cantineau 1946, 1960). In this study we will be mainly concerned with Cantineau (1936) since it is in this article that the FaDI dialect has been more closely examined than anywhere else. Cantineau's (1936) study can thus provide us with a view of what pre-immigrant speech looked like when the FaDI dialect was a home dialect, i.e. spoken on the Golan Heights, rather than as an immigrant dialect in Damascus.

5.1.1.3.2 The Vowels of IGFA

Cantineau's (1936:43–46) description of the vowels in pre-immigrant speech is generally similar to that of DA above where all the standard vowels are retained and the mid vowels /e:/ and /o:/ developed out of /ai/ and /au/, e.g. /bait > /be:t/ 'house', /yaum/ > /yo:m/ 'day'. The latter two diphthongs are confined to the environments where the semivowels /-y/ and /-w/ follow, e.g. /haiyaj/ 'to arouse', /ʔauwal/ 'first'. Cantineau recognized various allophonic variants for each vowel phoneme depending on their phonetic contexts. All these different alternants are unimportant for us here.

My fieldwork data on immigrant speech shows that the same picture still holds in its general outline. But, although IGFA, like DA above, has retained all the standard vowels, both IGFA and SA distribute their vowels differently and variably in certain cases. For example, the short vowels /u/ and /i/ in /qul/ 'say', /ʔamil/ 'bend, etc./ are lengthened in immigrant speech as in /gu:l/ and /mi:l/. There are many other similar cases. Any further investigation of these differences here would be beyond the scope of this work and this has to be left at that.

5.1.1.4 Summary

The above brief analysis of the contrastive vowel phonology of SA, DA, and IGFA shows that, except for the development of mid vowels /e:/ and /o:/ in the latter two dialects, all three dialects are homogeneous especially DA and IGFA. Although this is generally true, the real phonetic picture is quite complicated. The distribution of the vowels differs from dialect to another. I will illustrate this with a number of examples on some of these vowels.

	<u>SA</u>	<u>DA</u>	<u>IGFA</u>
1. /u-i/	/8 <u>urfa</u> / 'room' /q <u>ult</u> / 'I said' /x <u>ubz</u> / 'bread'	/8irfe/ / /ʔilt/ /xibz/	/8urfa - 8irfe/ /gult - ʔilt/ /xubz - xibz/
2. /a-i/	/D <u>arab</u> / 'he hit' /Da3f/ 'weakness' /D <u>a</u> 2ika/ 'he laughed' /q <u>a</u> mar/ 'moon' /t <u>a</u> arak/ 'he left'	/Darab/ /Da3f/ /Da2ak/ /ʔamar/ /tarak/	/Dhirab - Darab/ /Dhu3f - Da3f/ /Dhi2ak - Da2ak/ /gumar-ʔamar/ /tirak-tarak/
3. /i-a/	/3indak/ 'you have'	/3andak/	/3indak-3andak

The above examples show that the realizations of, say, /u/ in SA words become /i/ in DA words while in immigrant speech, although the original standard /u/ forms are maintained, they alternate with the newly acquired /i/ forms from DA. The other examples show similar patterns.

Despite these variations between the above dialects no vowel variables will be examined in this study. I could not think of any justification for that apart from the fact that the vocalic variables are less salient than, say, the consonantal variables. Also the vocalic variants are limited in their distribution by being restricted to certain phonetic environments. All this, however, does not do full justification for their exclusion from our sociolinguistic analysis. Any future research should deal with such vowels especially the ones that differentiate between IGFA and DA like /u/, /a/, and /i/. My observations of immigrant speech are that the immigrants alternate their original vowel forms with those of the local and the standard ones. Empirical confirmation of these observations is needed.

5.1.2 The Consonants

5.1.2.1 Introduction

Most of the differences in the segmental phonology of SA, DA, and IGFA lie in consonants. It is beyond the scope of this work to provide a description, however brief it might be, of all the consonants of each of these dialects and the interested reader is referred to the works cited above (5.1.1–5.1.3) for an inclusive and fuller picture. What I will be doing in the rest of this chapter is list and phonetically define the consonantal variables that form the subject–matter of our linguistic and sociolinguistic analysis later (Chapters 6–9). The choice of these variables was based on the following criteria:

- 1) my native knowledge of IGFA as a first dialect or language and DA as a second dialect or language in addition to that of SA as a superposed variety;
- 2) the dialect descriptions of SA, DA, and IGFA mentioned above;
- 3) the sociolinguistic studies of Arabic dialects in various countries of the Arab world;
- 4) the saliency of these variables; and

- 5) the fact that every variable should be capable of differentiating between at least two of the three dialects involved.

Seven phonological variables and one morphophonemic variable were picked up and defined this way. These are all discussed below one by one in each dialect separately.

5.1.2.2 The Consonantal Variables

5.1.2.2.1 The Phonological Variable (q)

5.1.2.2.1.1 /q/ in SA

The phonetic character of the phoneme /q/ in SA is controversial amongst both classical and modern grammarians from three points: (i) place of articulation, (ii) voice, and (iii) pharyngealization. These issues will be addressed below one by one.

Although classical grammarians all assigned /q/ a back articulation, they did not specify exactly which place is involved in its pronunciation. According to Sibawaihi, who died 177 A.H./793 A.D. and whose work is the earliest complete analysis of Arabic (Semaan 1968:38), /q/ is produced by:

... the back part of the tongue and the part of the palate above it (Sibawaihi 1975:433)

No further elaboration was given as to whether the intended back palatal area is velar or uvular. Ibn Sina, who died 428 A.H./1037 A.D. simply assigned /q/ the same place as /x/ with the former being more inward (Ibn Sina 1968:38). Ibn Jinni, who died 340 A.H./1002 A.D. sufficed to note that /q/ is produced by 'the backer part of the tongue' (Ibn Jinni 1957:52) without mentioning which palatal area is involved in the process (cf. Bakalla 1982:71). Al-Zamakhshari, who died 538 A.H./1144 A.D. repeated (Al-Zamakhshari 1291 AH:26) Sibawaihi's definition above verbatim. Al-Zamakhshari's commentator, Ibn Ya3eesh, who died 648 A.H./1245 A.D. classified /q/ with /k/ as being uttered in 'the same area' which he described as 'uvular' (Ibn Ya3eesh Vol X:126).

In their characterization of /q/ by other parameters, the classical grammarians were unanimous in defining it as voiced (Sibawaihi 1975:434; Ibn Jinni 1954:69; Al-Zamakhshari 1291:220; Ibn Ya3eesh X:129), plosive (Sibawaihi 1975:434; Ibn Jinni 1954:69; Ibn Sina 1963:38; Al-Zamakhshari 1291:221; Ibn Ya3eesh X:129), and

pharyngealized (Sibawaihi 1975:436; Ibn Jinni 1954:70–71; Al–Zamakhshari 1291:221; Ibn Ya3eesh X:129). By pharyngealization they all meant the raising of the tongue towards the upper palate. Pharyngealization is not a primary but rather a secondary stricture in the articulation of /q/. (For more details on pharyngealization, see 5.1.2.2.4.1.1 below.)

Modern phoneticians questioned the classical grammarians' definition of /q/. Apart from a hesitancy on the part of Cantineau (1960:27, 174), who regarded /q/ as a uvular or velar–uvular at the same time, all defined it as uvular by place (Gairdner 1925:15, 26; Al–Ani 1970:32; Ghazeli 1977:54). In his interesting articulatory, spectrographic and cinefluorographic study of Arabic back consonants, Ghazeli (1977:54) described /q/ by place as follows:

This consonant (i.e. /q/) is characterized by a superior–posterior movement of the back of the tongue which ends with the tongue dorsum being pressed against the uvula. The upward movement of the tongue also results in a slight raising of the pharynx (2.5mm) and the hyoid bone (3 to 4mm). This backward movement results in a narrowing of the oropharynx with the narrowest constriction (4 to 5mm) taking place between the epiglottis and the back wall of the pharynx.

As far as voice is concerned, modern phoneticians all characterized /q/ as voiceless (Gairdner 1925:15; Cantineau 1960:27; Al–Ani 1970:32). Cantineau (1960:3) criticised the traditional grammarians in this connection by noting that:

Sibawaihi and Zamakhshari rangent le qâf (i.e. /q/) parmi les consonnes maġhûra (i.e. voiced), il semblerait donc qu'ils le considéraient comme une sonore ... mais actuellement la prononciation traditionnelle de l'arabe classique en fait une sourde.

With respect to the pharyngealized status of /q/, modern phoneticians are divided, however. Gairdner (1925:107), Cantineau (1936:27), Jakobson (1958:516–17), Delattre (1971) argued that it is pharyngealized while Al–Ani (1970:40) and Ghazeli (1977:171) argued against this position. Ghazeli (1977:171) argued convincingly that:

... the classification of [q] as a pharyngealized consonant is justified neither on articulatory nor co–articulatory grounds. [q] has a uvular place of articulation; pharyngealized consonants have a dental–alveolar or an interdental place of articulation with a secondary tongue retraction. Further, unlike the scope of L–R (i.e. left–to–right) and R–L (i.e. right–to–left) back effect exhibited by pharyngealized consonants, the backing effect of [q] is coterminous with a low vowel adjacent to it.

(For more details see Ghazeli 1977:146–47, 58–64). Quite recent phonetic research on

pharyngealization in Arabic, using acoustic methods (Card 1983) or experimental techniques (Ahmed 1984) supports Ghazeli's position by not including /q/ amongst the pharyngealized consonants.

Finally, modern phoneticians (e.g. Al-Ani 1970:32; Cantineau 1960:174) all agreed with classical grammarians on the plosive character of /q/.

In the rest of this thesis, Al-Ani's (1970:32) definition of /q/ as a voiceless uvular unaspirated stop will be adopted. This definition is consistent with and is supported by the findings of the above-mentioned recent phonetic research, acoustic and experimental alike.

5.1.2.2.1.2 The Colloquial Situation

5.1.2.2.1.2.1 The Historical Colloquial Situation

Traditional Arabic scholars were concerned not with the colloquials, whose study started from the second half of the nineteenth century onwards (see Cantineau 1936, 1960; Johnston 1963), but with the standard and prestigious variety in which the Holy Quran was revealed and poetry was delivered. However, they mentioned in passing certain stigmatized variants which were common in certain vernaculars then. But the interpretation of these variants is very difficult to make because their references and notes are vague and unaided by either phonetic explanations or phonetic transcriptions.

As far as /q/ is concerned, one can assume that it varied with /g/, /j/, and /k/ in old stigmatized Arabic dialects although none of the classical grammarians referred to this in an outright manner. Sibawaihi (1975:432), Ibn Jinni (1954:51), Ibn Faris (1910:25), Ibn Ya3eesh (X:125–27), and Ibn Sina (1963:51) identified a stigmatized speech sound /k/ which was pronounced half-way between /k/ and /j/. Modern commentators (Cantineau 1960:57; Semaan 1963:51; Bakalla 1982:84) interpreted the intended phoneme as /g/. In the words of Bakalla (1982:84), this speech-sound is reconstructed as:

/g/ which has the feature of voicing inherent in /j/ and the articulatory features which characterize /k/.

The limitation of the interpretation to /g/ only is over-restrictive. Many modern Arabic dialects have /k/ in place of /q/ and some others also have /j/ in certain phonetic

environments. I am not going to dwell on this point any further because it is futile to argue on a historical matter with hardly any hard evidence on it.

Finally it is worthwhile to mention that in his 60-page book, which is dedicated to the problem of phonemic variation in SA in which some phonemes in certain words alternate with other ones and whose meanings remain unaltered, Ibn Al-Sikkeet gave a number of words in which /q/ alternates with /k/. For example,

/damaqa – damaka/ 'to push someone in his breast'

/qashaTa – kashaTa/ 'to abrade'

/ʔimtaqqa – ʔimtakka/ 'to suck the breast'

/3arabiyyun – qu22/ku22/ 'pure Arab'

/qa:ta3ahu – ka:ta3ahu/ 'to fight him'

(Ibn Al-Sikkeet 1903:37; also Ibn Jinni 1954:278)

Ibn Al-Sikkeet did not allude to the stigmatized status of these variants at all. This evidence on /q – k/ variation gives at least some support to our hypothesis postulated above with regard to the existence of /k/ in old dialects of Arabic.

5.1.2.2.1.2.2 The Synchronic Colloquial Situation

5.1.2.2.1.2.2.1 /q/ in DA

In the Arabic dialect of Damascus City, /q/ is replaced by /ʔ/, a voiceless glottal stop (Ambros 1977:8–9; Cowell 1964:4–5; etc.). E.g. /qamar/ – /ʔamar/ 'moon'; /qalam/ – /ʔalam/ 'pen'. The phoneme /q/ is retained in only a few borrowings from the standard (Ambros 1977:9; Cowell 1964:4) such as the word /qurʔa:n/ 'Quran'.

The time at which /ʔ/ first emerged in DA is unknown and none of the scholars of DA hinted to it. Writers on other Arabic dialects with the same phenomenon noted that /q/ definitely merged with /ʔ/ by the eighteenth century (Abdel-Jawad 1981:184, quoting Garbel 1958:318). Recent research on pidginization in Arabic (Thomason and Elgibali 1986:328) points to the eleventh century A.D. in which /q/ was replaced by /ʔ/ in the 'written' speech of some North Africans of non-Arab origin somewhere in present-day Mauritania.

My observations of the native speech of Damascus City and that of its neighbouring towns mentioned above as well as my fieldwork that was carried out in these areas indicate that, although /ʔ/ is the most commonly heard variant in people's everyday conversations, /q/ is no longer confined to borrowings from the standard. In fact, /ʔ/ varies with /q/ in almost all words. E.g. /ʔamar – qamar/ 'moon', /ʔalam – qalam/ 'pen', etc.

5.1.2.2.1.2.2.2 /q/ in IGFA

Cantineau (1936:28–29), in his description of pre-immigrant speech, remarked that /q/ is absolutely non-existent and is replaced regularly by [g], a voiced velar stop, or [j], a voiced palatal affricate. The alternation between [g] and [j] is, he noted, phonetically conditioned: [g] palatalizes into [j] in the vicinity of (i) front vowels such as /biri:j/ 'pot', /rifi:j/ 'friend' and (ii) non-pharyngealized consonants as in /3irj/ 'vein'. Palatalization is blocked next to (i) back vowels as in /gu:l/ 'say' but not /*ju:l/ and pharyngealized consonants as in /gSaire/ 'short' but not /*jSaire/. He also mentioned very few cases in which palatalization is subject to certain morphological conditions. The imperfect and perfect forms of the verb /yigaf/ 'he stops' and /wugaf/ 'he stopped' have a velar phoneme [g] while the present participial form /wa:jif/ 'the one who is standing' has an affricate [j]. Also the singular form of the noun /jidir/ 'pot' has [j] but the plural form /gdu:r/ has [g]. Finally, the present tense form for the verb /gi3ad/ 'he sat' has [g] but the present participle form /ja:3id/ 'the one who is sitting' has [j].

The extent of the application of palatalization seems to be regular under the above phonetic conditions for which no exceptional rules were given. However, Cantineau (1936:38) was surprised at the absence of palatalization in the words /shargin/ 'eastern' and /msharrig/ 'east' despite the fact that in both of which the velar consonant is next to a front vowel.

Finally, Cantineau (1936:30) mentioned in a footnote that three words are pronounced with [k] and/or [ch]. These were /kital/ – /chital/ 'he killed' and /chitab/ 'haudah': a camel rider's cabin'.

My fieldwork data on immigrant speech, although it supports Cantineau in general,

shows that the above picture is no longer the same. Not only the standard variant [q] but also the local variant [ʔ] have been introduced into immigrant speech both of which vary with each other and with the original immigrant variants [g] and [j]. E.g. /qa:l – ʔa:l – ga:l/ 'he said'; /qali:l – ʔali:l – gili:l – jili:l/ 'few, little', etc. In addition to these alternants, a number of rarely occurring ones were attested. The variants [k] and [ch] were restricted to two or three words such as /wakt/ 'time'; /kital – chital/ 'he killed', /katle – chatle/ 'killing' all of which occurred with /g, q and ʔ/ as well. And the variant [j] in the word /ja:3id/ 'the one who is sitting', also the present continuous particle as in /ja:3id ʔaktub/ 'I am writing'; occasionally passed into [t] and/or [d]. Due to their rare occurrence, all of the variants [k, ch, t, and d] will not be shown in any further analysis later.

On the basis of the above discussion of /q/ and its distribution in the three dialects, four variants can be identified for it in immigrant speech. These variants are summarized in Table 5.1 below.

Table 5.1 Variants for (q) in Immigrant Speech

Variant	Original Dialect	Sociolinguistic Status	Examples
1. [q]	Standard Arabic (SA)	Standard, prestigious, official, formal, public, and written	/qa:l/ 'he said
2. [ʔ]	Damascus Arabic (DA)	Nonstandard, local, intimate, and oral.	/ʔa:l/ 'he said
3. [g]	Immigrant Golan FaDl Arabic (IGFA)	Nonstandard, immigrant, intimate, and oral.	/ga:l/ 'he said
4. [j]	Immigrant Golan FaDl Arabic (IGFA)	Nonstandard, immigrant, intimate, and oral	/rifi:j/ 'friend

In the succeeding chapters, a linguistic and sociolinguistic analysis will be presented for the alternation amongst all four variants in the immigrant dialect.

5.1.2.2.2 The Phonological Variable (k)

5.1.2.2.2.1 /k/ in SA

The definition of /k/ by place of articulation in classical studies of standard Arabic is

vague, imprecise and contradictory. According to Sibawaihi (1975:433), /k/ is articulated by:

... the part of the tongue just below the point of articulation for /q/ and the upper palate opposite to it.

Imprecision in Sibawaihi's definition lies in the fact that the intended place is not known whether it is velar or uvular. Also Sibawaihi wrongly stated at another point that /k/ is backer than /q/ as far as its place of articulation is concerned and this was rejected by later scholars. Ibn Jinni (1954:52) gave a similar but contradictory definition in which /k/ is:

... produced from below that (i.e. the place of articulation for /q/) and is nearer to the forepart of the mouth (i.e. than /q/). (parentheses mine)

Ibn Jinni's contradiction is manifested in the fact that /k/ cannot be produced immediately before and after /q/ at the same time. It is also imprecise in that one cannot tell whether /k/ is velar or uvular. But Ibn Jinni's contemporary commentator, Bakalla (1982:71), although he confessed of his master's imprecision and vagueness, assigned /k/ a velar position. Although succeeding grammarians rightly placed /k/ after /q/ by order of their point of articulation starting from the back to the front of the mouth, imprecision as to the exact area involved in the articulation of /k/ remained. Al-Zamakhshari (1291:219) described /k/ as being produced by:

... the back of the tongue and the upper palate. The lingual-palatal contact is immediately before that for /q/.

The above description does not specify the exact upper palate area (i.e. velar or uvular) in which /k/ is pronounced. And this probably led Al-Zamakhshari's commentator, Ibn Ya3eesh (X:124) to give both /k/ and /q/ a uvular position with the former being fronter (ie. nearer to the front of the mouth) than the latter.

With regard to voice and manner of articulation, all classical grammarians (Sibawaihi 1975:434; Ibn Jinni 1954:68-69; Al-Zamakhshari 1291:221; Ibn Ya3eesh X:129) unanimously characterized /k/ as a voiceless stop.

Modern impressionistic studies of the phonetics of standard Arabic (Gairdner 1925:15; 25; Cantineau 1960:174) assigned /k/ the same tongue position in Arabic, English and

French in all of which the back of the tongue strikes the soft palate or velum. This has been confirmed in Al-Ani's (1970:32) acoustic and physiological study of Arabic phonetics. Al-Ani further added that in the contiguity of high front vowels /i/ and /i:/ and due to the advancement of the tongue in anticipation for their articulation a palatalized [k'] allophone is induced. Finally, modern phoneticians agree with classical grammarians upon the voicelessness and plosiveness of the phoneme /k/.

The full working phonetic definition for /k/ that will be upheld in the remainder of this thesis is Al-Ani's (1970:32) according to which is described it as a voiceless velar aspirated stop.

5.1.2.2.2.2 The Colloquial Situation

5.1.2.2.2.2.1 The Historical Colloquial Situation

It can be assumed that /k/ had a stigmatized variant [ch], a voiceless palatal affricate, in old Arabic dialects although none of the nonstandard dialects were then recorded. Two types of evidence can be cited in this regard. First, at the phonetic level, all classical grammarians made a casual reference to a speech-sound that can be reconstructed as [ch]. Sibawaihi (1975:432) Ibn Jinni (1954:5) Al-Zamakhshari (1291:220) and Ibn Ya3eesh (X:127) referred to a stigmatized variant [k] that is pronounced like [j] but none gave any further elaboration. Ibn Faris (1910:25) made note of a stigmatized variant [k] that passed into or was pronounced like [sh] on which he gave no examples. As a bilingual in Arabic and Persian, Ibn Sina (1963:51) was the only traditional phonetician to point to [ch] explicitly. However, Ibn Sina, it has to be noted, did not confirm that [ch] was really an Arabic speech-sound associated with colloquial speech during his age but rather a Persian one. As he put it (1963:51):

There is also the Persian speech-sound which resembles (Arabic) /j/ and is heard in the Persian word /cha:h/ meaning 'well'.

But, although Ibn Sina's remark is inconclusive, the weight of the different pieces of evidence indicate that [ch] can be reconstructed. Some modern linguists have also argued in favour of this position (e.g. Cantineau 1960:65 and the references therein; but cf. Bakalla 1982:84).

The second type of evidence on the existence of [ch] in old Arabic dialects is morphophonemic and this will be dealt with separately below (5.1.2.2.3.2.1).

Finally, as to the variation of /k/ with other phonemes in certain items in which the same meaning is retained, Ibn Al-Sikkeet noted that /k/ varied with (i) /j/ as in:

/saihak/ – /saihaj/ 'strong mind'

/yartakku/ – /yartajju/ 'to swing'

/sakkun/ – /sajjun/ 'de-constipation', 'diarrhoea' (Ibn Al-Sikkeet 1903:38)

and (ii) with /f/ as in:

/2asa:fil/ – /2asa:kil/ 'young offspring'

/2asi:fa/ – /2asi:ka/ 'spite, enmity' (Ibn Al-Sikkeet 1903:36)

And Ibn Jinni (1954:280) remarked that /k/ substituted for /t/, the second person masculine singular suffixed pronoun. For example, /ʔa2santa – ʔa2asanka/ 'you did well, well-done!', /3aSaita – 3aSaika/ 'you disobeyed'. Ibn Jinni noted that /k-t/ substitution is a form of assimilation which occurs as a result of similarity in voicelessness between /k/ and /t/ but he did not state whether this rule was general in its application or restricted to the two examples cited above. Ibn Jinni (1954:28) also pointed out that Ø > /k/ in the formation of the plural form for the word /hana:di:k/ 'Indians' from the singular form /hindi:/ 'an Indian'.

5.1.2.2.2.2 The Synchronic Colloquial Situation

5.1.2.2.2.2.1 /k/ in DA

In their descriptions of the Arabic dialect of Damascus City, Ambros (1977:8–9), Grotzfeld (1965:5), etc. have noted that /k/ is retained intact and defined it as a voiceless velar plosive. E.g. /kalb/ 'dog', /kint/ 'I was', /ki:f/ 'how', etc.

My fieldwork data supports this position and I would like to add that the dialects of the neighbouring towns such as Katana, etc., also maintain /k/ intact.

5.1.2.2.2.2.2 /k/ in IGFA

In pre-immigrant speech, Cantineau (1936:28–39) noted that [k], a voiceless velar plosive, varies with [ch]. The former occurs next to (i) back vowels as in /kul/ 'all', /kurh/ 'hatred', and (ii) pharyngealized consonants as in /Sakka/ 'to kick'. [k] palatalizes

into [ch], a voiceless palatal affricate, next to (i) front vowels as in /chalb/ 'dog', /chint/ 'I was' and (ii) non-pharyngealized consonants such as /l/ as in /chla:b/ 'dogs'.

Cantineau (1936:39) mentioned a few exceptions in which the application of the affrication rule can be blocked due to some morphological oppositions such as those obtaining between (i) singular and plural forms, e.g. /chatf/ 'shoulder' but /ktu:f/ 'shoulders', (ii) perfect and imperfect verb forms, e.g. /richab/ 'he rode', but /jirkab/ 'he rides, and (iii) present participle and past participle verb forms, e.g. /ra:chib/ 'riding' but /marku:b/ 'ridden, being ridden'. He also mentioned one exceptional case in which [ch] is applied to an originally back vowel environment namely, /kulwa/ – /chilwa/ 'kidney'.

The above description can be generally said to still hold for immigrant speech although the application of the affrication rule is not necessarily phonetically conditioned as both [k] and [ch] were found to apply to the same words, e.g. /kint – chint/ 'I was'. (For further details on the linguistic analysis of (k), see Chapter 6 below.)

From the above descriptions of the three dialects that are involved in the immigrant speech situation, the variable (k) can be isolated two variants which are shown in Table 5.2 below.

Table 5.2 Variants for (k) in Immigrant Speech

Variant	Original Dialect	Sociolinguistic Status	Examples
1. [k]	SA; DA; and IGFA in part	prestigious, standard official and local	/kunt/; /kint/ 'I was'
2. [ch]	IGFA	stigmatized, intimate, and immigrant	/chint/ 'I was'

The nature of linguistic and sociolinguistic variation between [k] and [ch] in immigrant speech will be examined in the following chapters.

5.1.2.2.3 The Morphophonemic Variable (–k)

5.1.2.2.3.1 /–k/ in SA

The morphophoneme /–k/ refers to the second person feminine suffixed personal pronoun. In standard Arabic the consonantal element [–k] of the pronominal suffix remains unchanged for either sex. However, gender distinctions are indicated by vocalic

or other changes instead. E.g.

Masculine	Feminine
/min(<u>k</u> a)/ 'from you - singular'	/min(<u>k</u> i)/ 'from you - singular'
/la(<u>k</u> a)/ 'to you - singular'	/la(<u>k</u> i)/ 'to you - singular'
/la(<u>k</u> um)/ 'to you - plural'	/la(<u>k</u> un)/ 'to you - plural'

The examples show that the consonantal element [–k] of the pronominal suffixes, whether singular or plural, remains the same. The distinction between the masculine and feminine forms of the pronominal suffix is indicated in the singular by the use of the vowels /–a/ and /–i/ respectively and in the plural by the consonants [–m] and [–n] in that order.

5.1.2.2.3.2 The Colloquial Situation

5.1.2.2.3.2.1 The Historial Colloquial Situation

Traditional grammarians made a casual note of two stigmatized affrication phenomena that were called kashkasha and kaskasa (Ibn Jinni 1954:235; Ibn Faris 1910:24; Al–Zamakhshari 1291:183; Ibn Ya3eesh X:48–49; Al–SuyuTi I:133). Both phenomena affected the above–mentioned pronominal feminine suffix in old Arabic dialects. By kashkasha and kaskasa is meant the replacement of the consonantal element of the feminine pronominal suffix (i.e. [–k–]) by [sh] and [s] respectively. Hence their respective names. For example, the kashkasha form for /minki/ 'from you' – (feminine, singular) is /minsh/ while the kaskasa form is /mins/. Al–SuyuTi (I:133) further added that [sh] and [s] might be added without the omission of [k]. Thus one would have /minkish/ or /minkis/ as well. Kashkasha and kaskasa were probably very common in old Arabic dialects some of which were named by the above grammarians but their names were often in conflict with one another (e.g. Ibn Faris and Al–SuyuTi). That is, what one grammarian described as kashkasha in one dialect was described as kaskasa by another scholar for the same dialect.

5.1.2.2.3.2.2 The Synchronic Colloquial Situation

5.1.2.2.3.2.2.1. /–k/ in DA

In the dialect of Damascus City, the consonantal element of the second person pronominal feminine suffix is retained intact (Ambros 1977:31). The distinction between

masculine and feminine forms of the pronominal suffix is indicated, as in SA, by vocalic changes in the suffix itself. E.g.

Masculine	Feminine
/ʔism(ak)/ 'your name - singular'	/ʔism(ik) 'your name - singular'
/ʔasa:mi:(ku)/ 'your names - plural'	/ʔasa:mi:(ku)/ 'your names - plural'

The examples show that the consonantal element of the pronominal suffix is the same for both sexes in both numbers and that the masculine form is distinguished from the feminine form in the singular only by the use of /-a-/ and /-i-/ respectively.

My fieldwork data on the speech of both Damascus City and its neighbouring towns mentioned at several places above confirms the above picture.

5.1.2.2.3.2.2.2 /-k/ in IGFA

Cantineau (1936:72) remarked that in pre-immigrant speech the consonantal element of the second person feminine pronominal suffix is [-ch] and [-k-] for the masculine. E.g.

Masculine	Feminine
/ʔabu:(k)/ 'your father - singular'	/ʔabu:(ch)/ 'your father-singular'
/ʔisa:mi:(kam)/ 'your names - plural'	/ʔisa:mi:(chan)/ 'your names - plural'

The use of [-ch-] in IGFA to indicate the female sex of the second person pronoun can be said to resemble kashkasha of olden Arabian dialects referred to above. (For the use of /ts/ or kaskasa in modern dialects see Cantineau 1936, 1937).

In immigrant speech my fieldwork data shows that the second person feminine pronominal suffix can be, as a result of dialect contact especially between DA and IGFA since 1967, [-ch-] or [-k-] depending on which social and stylistic factors are involved. E.g.

/ʔabu:(ch)/	-	/ʔabu:(ki:)/	'your father - singular'
/ʔismi(ch)/	-	/ʔism(ik)/	'your name - singular'
/ʔisa:mi:(chan)/	-	/ʔasa:mi:(ku)/	'your names - plural'

The above characterization of the second person feminine pronominal suffix or the morphophoneme /-k-/ in SA, DA, and IGFA leads us to recognize two variants for it in immigrant speech. These are shown in Table 5.3 below.

Table 5.3 Variants for the Morphophoneme (-k-) in Immigrant Speech

Variant	Original Dialect	Sociolinguistic Status	Examples
1. [-k-]	SA and DA	standard, prestigious, and local.	/ʔism(ik)/ 'your name'
1. [-ch-]	IGFA	non-standard, stigmatized and intimate.	/ʔism(:ch)/ 'your name'

In the following chapters, the interplay of linguistic, social, and stylistic parameters will be discussed as far as the alternation between the two morphophonemic variants [-k-] and [-ch-] is concerned.

5.1.2.2.4 The Variable (D)

5.1.2.2.4.1 /D/ in SA

5.1.2.2.4.1.1 The Phonetic Status of Pharyngealized Consonants in Arabic

The phonetic nature of pharyngealized consonants is controversial with respect to the articulatory processes involved in their articulation and their number in the language. The views of both traditional grammarians and modern phoneticians in this matter will be reviewed briefly below.

First, traditional grammarians. They made a distinction between two kinds of secondary back articulation associated with the production of what came to be later known as pharyngealized consonants. The first is iTba:q 'literally covering' by which was meant raising (the back of) the tongue towards the upper palate'. This definition is given by Sibawaihi (1975:436), Ibn Jinni (1954:70), Al-Zamakhshari (1291:221), and Ibn Ya3eesh (X:129). Whether the upper palate area is velar or uvular cannot be determined from their definitions. ITbaq is a secondary stricture which, in the production of pharyngealized

consonants, accompanies a primary stricture which could be dental or alveolar. That is, every pharyngealized consonant has two simultaneous places of articulation: one dental or alveolar and one, let's say, velar or uvular. In this way, four primary pharyngealized consonants were identified, namely, /T, D, S, and Dh/ whose non-pharyngealized equivalents are /t, ð, s, and dh/ respectively. /D/ only has no such equivalent.

The second back stricture is ?isti3la:? 'literally raising' which means:

... raising (the back of) the tongue in the direction of the palate with or without velarization or uvularization. (Al-Zamakhshari 1291:221; Ibn Jinni 1954:71; Ibn Ya3eesh X:129; Sibawaihi 1975:129).

Under this category, seven consonants were included which are /q/, a uvular stop, /x/, a voiceless velar fricative, and /8/, a voiced velar fricative, in addition to the above four phonemes. The reason why /q/, /x/, and /8/ are of the same natural class as /T, D, S, and Dh/ is due not as much to articulatory grounds as to the fact that next to all these phonemes the raising of /a/ to /e/ is blocked, an otherwise compulsory 'stigmatized' process (Sibawaihi 1975:129; Ibn Jinni 1954:218). This process of /a/ raising is called imala 'vowel shift'.

Pharyngealization has captured the attention of modern phoneticians (For an extended review, see Ahmed 1984). Early modern studies of pharyngealization in Arabic not only added to the list of pharyngealized phonemes other consonants such as [b], [m], [l], etc. (see Cantineau 1936, 1937, 1960; Jakobson 1957) but also, like the traditional scholars, wrongly assigned the velum (Gairdner 1925:15, 20) as the secondary stricture involved in their pronunciation. Cantineau (1960:23) even adhered to the classical scholars' definition without any comments.

However, recent physiological, acoustic and instrumental phonetic research of pharyngealization in Arabic (Ghazeli 1977; Ahmed 1984; Card 1983; Al-Ani 1970) has rejected the inclusion of any phonemes amongst the pharyngealized consonants other than /T, D, S, Dh and Z/ and has shown that the secondary back stricture involved in their production is not the velum but the pharynx. Hence the name pharyngealization. The main characteristics of pharyngealization can be summed up briefly as follows.

Articulatorily, pharyngealization consists of two simultaneous processes: one an anterior

primary stricture and one a posterior secondary stricture both of which involve the tongue (Ghazeli 1977:68). While the primary stricture varies from one pharyngealized phoneme to another, the secondary one is common to all pharyngealized phonemes which involves:

... a rearward movement of the back of the tongue towards the back wall of the pharynx at the level of the second cervical vertebra. (Ghazeli 1977:72)

Commenting on the internal shape of the mouth during pharyngealization, Ghazeli (1977:72) noted that there occurs:

a depression of the palatine dorsum of the tongue resulting from (or resulting in) the retraction of the back of the tongue ... The result of these movements is a vocal tract shape with an increased oral cavity (between the surface of the tongue and the hard palate) and a reduced pharyngeal cavity above the epiglottis relative to the non-pharyngealized counterparts ...

Also in his electropalatographic study of pharyngealization, Ahmed (1984) has shown that as a result of the internal shape of the mouth during pharyngealization, there are differences in lingual-palatal contact between what he called emphatic (i.e. pharyngealized) consonants and their plain (i.e. non-pharyngealized) equivalents such as /S/ and /s/, etc. with the former displaying less such contact than the latter. As he puts it (1984:161), (pharyngealized consonants) invariably displayed a lesser area of contact, particularly in the back region of the palate indicating a depressed position of the central portion of the tongue occurring simultaneously with a rearward movement of the back of the tongue towards the pharyngeal wall. (Parentheses mine.)

Finally, the shape of the lips during pharyngealization seems to be unimportant. While Ghazeli (1977:74) found no sound evidence on lip rounding or protrusion during pharyngealization, Ahmed (1984:conclusions) called for further research in this matter.

Acoustically, the most indicative cue of pharyngealization is the general tendency of the second formant F2 to lower in vowels adjacent to pharyngealized consonants (Ghazeli 1977:77; Ahmed 1984:76; Card 1983:ch.2). The clearest lowering effect can be seen by backing being induced in the low front vowels [a(:)] – [ah(:)] (Ghazeli 1977:82). High vowels are also affected but not to the same extent (see Ghazeli 1977:77–78; Ahmed 1984:171). Of the consonants liquids and nasals are especially backed while obstruents not as much (see Ghazeli 1977:88; Ahmed 1984:216–7).

Finally, pharyngealization has coarticulatory or assimilatory effects on neighbouring

segments. By coarticulation is meant 'a spatial and temporal overlap of adjacent gestures' (Lindblom 1983:220) or 'the reciprocal influence between sound segments in connected speech' (Ahmed 1984:165). In other words, coarticulation implies assimilation. The scope of backing coarticulation as induced by a pharyngealized gesture can cover up to an entire word (Ghazeli 1977:90; Card 1983:79; Ahmed 1984:217) and can spread from right-to-left (R-L) and left-to-right (L-R). For instance, /fa:hD/ 'to flood' is an example of R-L backing in which all the segments are backed under the influence of the pharyngealized consonant /D/ and /Da:h/ 'to be the guest of' is one of L-R backing. That is, in both words the backing gesture induced by the pharyngealized phoneme /D/ extends over all segments.

Whether this backing coarticulation can operate in all phonetic environments is controversial. While Ghazeli (1977:90, 99, 128) argued that palatal vowels weaken but not block coarticulation, Card (1983:80) argued that they block it altogether in which case the domain of pharyngealization will be one segment as in [ː] 'mud' where T is the only pharyngealized phoneme in the word and whose effect on the other segments is nil. Also different pharyngealized consonants seem to have different coarticulatory effects. In his impressionistic phonetic study of the Quranic variants, Al-Wohaibi (1983:133) adduced certain examples where /l/ was pharyngealized to /L/ next to /S, T, and Dh/ but not next to /D/. E.g.

- a. /SahLa:h-h/ 'prayer'
- b. /TahLa:hq/ 'divorce'
- c. /DhahLLah/ 'he stayed'
- d. /Dahla:l/ 'going astray'
- e. /fahDI/ 'blessing'

In a, b, and c, /l/ pharyngealizes into /L/ but remains unchanged in d/ and e/ in which it is next to /D/. Al-Wohaibi gave no reasons why this is so.

Now we turn to the phoneme /D/.

5.1.2.2.4.1.2 /D/ in SA

Traditional grammarians classified /D/ as one of the four primary pharyngealized consonants. As the nature of pharyngealization has been dealt with in the above section, we will be concerned here with the other phonetic properties of /D/. First, /D/ had a lateral place of articulation which was pronounced by:

... the beginning of the edge (side) of the tongue and the opposite molars. (Sibawaihi 1975:433; Ibn Jinni 1954:52; Al-Zamakhshari 1291:220; Ibn Ya3eesh X:125).

Ibn Jinni and Ibn Ya3eesh further noted that /D/ could be pronounced by the left or right side of the tongue which probably included, commented Bakalla (1982:75), the tip and blade of the tongue. Secondly, as to voice and manner, /D/ was described as a voiced fricative (Sibawaihi 1975:434-35; Ibn Jinni 1954:69; Al-Zamakhshari 1291:220-221; Ibn Ya3eesh X:129).

But it has to be noted that Ibn Sina's definition of /D/ is not in full harmony with that of the traditional grammarians mentioned above in which it had probably an alveolar or dental position but was definitely plosive in manner. As he puts it (1963:40):

The point of articulation of /d/ (i.e. /D/) is a little more forward (in the mouth) than that (of /sh/), and the obstruction (of the airstream in the process of articulation of /d/) is complete as in the case of /j/.

The association of /D/ with /sh/ by place of articulation and with /j/ by manner which are alveolar and plosive respectively, indicates that /D/ was undergoing linguistic change then.

That /D/ underwent a historical change is recognised by all modern scholars (e.g. Gairdner 1925:20; Cantineau 1960:21, 55; Al-Wohaibi 1983:133). While /D/ maintained its pharyngealized and voiced status, it changed its place and manner of articulation from lateral into dental (Cantineau 1970:19, 21) or alveolar (Gairdner 1925:15) or dental-alveolar (Al-Ani 1970:46; Ghazeli 1977:72) and from fricative into plosive (Cantineau 1970:19-21; Al-Ani 1970:46, etc.). As a result of this change, /D/ has now a non-pharyngealized equivalent, namely /d/, which it previously lacked.

To sum up, /D/ in SA can be defined in short as a voiced, pharyngealized unaspirated postdental stop (Al-Ani 1970:46). This will be the standard definition to be adopted in the rest of this thesis.

5.1.2.2.4.1.3 The Colloquial Situation

5.1.2.2.4.1.3.1 The Historical Colloquial Situation

/D/ had a stigmatized variant in old Arabic dialects that was called weak /D/ by classical grammarians (Sibawaihi 1975:432; Ibn Jinni 1954:51; Al-Zamakhshari 1291:220; Ibn Ya3eesh X:127–28). Whether weak /D/ was pharyngealized or not is not known. Also its articulatory properties cannot be determined. While Al-Zamakhshari and Ibn Jinni passed over these questions, Sibawaihi described it as a lateral fricative. Ibn Ya3eesh assigned weak /D/ an interdental position where it was produced by 'the edges of the tongue and the edges of the incisors'. According to him, the resulting phoneme was /T/, a voiceless alveolar–pharyngealized stop, or an intermediary between /Dh/, a voiced interdental–pharyngealized fricative, and /D/. Cantineau (1960:55) similarly reconstructed this weak speech–sound as /Dh/ or an intermediary between /Dh/ and /D/ (also cf. Corriente 1970:54–55). Bakalla (1982:85) reconstructed weak /D/ as /Dh/, a voiced interdental fricative pharyngealized. Bakalla's reconstruction is probably right, judging by the nature of linguistic variation involving /D/ in modern Arabic dialects in some of which it passed totally into /Dh/.

Classical grammarians (Sibawaihi 1975:458; Al-Zamakhshari 1291:205; Ibn Ya3eesh X:45–46) remarked that /D/ passed into /l/ in a few cases. E.g. /?iDTaja3a/ – /?ilTaja3a/ 'he lay'. Although Cantineau (1970:55) noted that the passage of /D/ into /l/ is very rare, Corriente (1978:50–55) reported on the existence of a relatively sizeable material collected from Arabic dictionaries in which /D/ alternated with /l/ and in which word meanings were either similar or the same. E.g. /ladda/ 'se quereller' v. /Dadda/ 'être contraire' (p.53), /rakala/ 'donner un coup de pied' v. /rakaDa/ 'same meaning' (p.54). (On the retention of lateral /L/ in place of /D/ in a modern Southern Arabian dialect of Arabic see Landberg (1901:637).) Finally, Ibn Al-Sikkeet (1903:49) gave some instances in which /D/ varied with /S/. E.g. /qaba(D/Sa)/ 'to hold, to grab, to catch'; /(S/D)a:f/ 'of an arrow when off target'; /ma(D/S)ma(D/S)a/ 'to wash cutlery, etc.' Neither the passage of /D/ into /l/ nor its alternation with /S/ were stigmatized.

5.1.2.2.4.1.3.2 The Synchronic Colloquial Situation

5.1.2.2.4.1.3.2.1 /D/ in DA

In the dialect of Damascus City, the phoneme /D/ is retained and is defined as a voiced dental or alveolar plosive pharyngealized (Bergsträsser 1924:13; Ferguson and Ani 1961:227–28; Cowell 1964:6–8; Grotzfeld 1965:5; Ambros 1977:8–9, 112). E.g. /De:f/ 'guest'; /Dau/ 'light'; /Dahmi:r/ 'conscience'.

My fieldwork data gives confirmation to the above description. The areas around Damascus City referred to at several points above retain /D/ intact as well. Two remarks are noteworthy, however. In a few words [D] is replaced by or varies with [Z], a voiced alveolar fricative pharyngealized. These words share the root /DbT/ 'to be exact' or are all derived from it. E.g.

/ma(Z/D)bu:T/ 'exact, true'

/bi(ZZ/DD)ahbT/ 'exactly, truly'

/(Z/D)a:hbiT/ 'an army officer'

/ZahbbahT/ 'to make something exact, to fix'

And some words that are derived from the root /rkD/ 'to run' have /D/ alternating with /d/. E.g.

/rki:d – rka:hD – rakD – rakd/ 'running'

/yirku(D/d)/ 'to run'

Apart from these exceptions which are common to all areas, the situation is very regular.

5.1.2.2.4.1.3.2.2 /D/ in IGFA

/D/ is completely non-existent in pre-immigrant speech in which it has been replaced by or merged with /Dh/, a voiceless interdental fricative pharyngealized. As Cantineau (1936:18) puts it:

L'ancien d (i.e. /D/) ... est complètement confondu avec l'ancien d (i.e. /Dh/) dans une seule et même prononciation d. (Parentheses mine.)

E.g. /faDhul/ 'FaDl—proper name' in place of /faDl/.

My fieldwork data on immigrant speech shows that under the influence of SA and DA in particular, /D/ has been introduced and varies with /Dh/ in the majority of lexical

items. E.g. /fiDDa/ – /fuDhDha/ 'silver, also a girl's name', /riDa/ – /riDha/ 'satisfaction, pleasure, also a man's name'. The variants [Z] and [d] cited for DA in the above section were also attested in my data and in the same lexical items. E.g. /biZZahbT/ – /biDDahbT/ – /biDhDhabT/ 'exactly'; /maZbu:T/ 'exact'; /Za:hbiT/ – /DahbiT/ – /Dha:hbiT/ 'army officer'; /jirkuDh/ – /jirkuD/ – /jirkud/ 'he runs'; /rka:hDh/ – /rakDh/ – /rakD/ – /rki:d/ 'running'. The variants /Z/ and /d/ are very rare especially the latter.

For the purposes of this study, the variable (D) can have two variants in the immigrant dialect which are shown in Table 5.4 below.

Table 5.4 Variants for (D) in Immigrant Speech

Variant	Original Dialect	Sociolinguistic Status	Example
1. [D]	SA, DA	standard, prestigious and local	/Dahmi:r/ 'conscience'
2. [Dh]	IGFA	non-standard, intimate, and immigrant	/Dhimi:r/ 'conscience'

A linguistic and sociolinguistic analysis will be provided in due course in the following chapters for the fluctuation between [D] and [Dh] in immigrant speech.

5.1.2.2.5 The Phonological Variable (J)

5.1.2.2.5.1 /J/ in SA

/J/ was classified by classical scholars together with /sh/ and /y/ which are all articulated by 'mid-tongue and centre of the palate' (Sibawaihi 1975:433; Ibn Jinni 1954:52; Al-Zamakhshari 1291:220; Ibn Ya3eesh X:127). By mid-tongue and centre of the palate is meant the front of the tongue and the hard palate (Bakalla 1982:72). That is, /J/ has a palatal articulation. As to voice and manner, /J/ was described as a voiced plosive by all of the above scholars (e.g. Sibawaihi 1975:434). None of these scholars mentioned the affricate status of /J/, a category which was unknown to classical

grammarians. In this connection, Cantineau (1960:57) wrote:

mais les grammariens anciens ne disent pas s'il y a mouillure ou affrication.

Modern phoneticians did not differ in their description of /J/ from classical scholars. Gairdner (1925:15), Cantineau (1976:21), and Al-Ani (1970:32) defined it as a voiced palatal affricate involving the front of the tongue and the hard palate. Thus the only partial difference between classical and modern scholars' definition of /J/ is in the category affricate although affricates are themselves plosives. More precisely, an affricate is a sequence of two phones: a stop and a homorganic fricative (Ladefoged 1982:60; Gimson 1980:174). Arabic /J/ is, acoustically speaking, a combination of two phones: /d/, a stop, an /z/, a fricative (Al-Ani 1970:32). As Al-Ani (1970:32) puts it:

Initially, the [d] appears as a voice bar with no noise directly above it ... and is immediately followed by a random noise in the upper frequencies, 2500 and up, with the continuation of the voice bar of [d] ... The duration of [j] is from 120–180 msec. The [d] usually takes about one-third or less of this duration.

5.1.2.2.5.2 The Colloquial Situation of /J/

5.1.2.2.5.2.1 The Historical Colloquial Situation

It can be assumed that in old Arabic dialects /J/ had at least two stigmatized variants: [zh], a voiced alveolar fricative, and [g], a voiced velar stop. Traditional grammarians made note of two stigmatized speech-sounds involving /J/: (i) a /J/ pronounced like /k/, and (ii) a /J/ pronounced like /sh/ (Sibawaihi 1975:432; Ibn Jinni 1954:51; Ibn Faris 1910:25; Al-Zamakhshari 1291:220; Ibn Ya3eesh X:127). Only Ibn Ya3eesh gave two examples: (i) /J/ – /k/ as in /Jamal/ – /kamal/ 'camel' and (ii) /J/ – /sh/ as in /ʔajdar/ – /ʔashdar/. The use of [k] and [sh] in place of [g] and [zh] by classical scholars was due to lack of proper orthographic signs to represent the latter two phonemes since SA lacks them altogether.

This interpretation is backed up by the following three sources. First, the traditional grammarian, Ibn Sina (1963:52–53), referred to the /zh/ phoneme explicitly by giving one Persian example /zharf/ 'well'. He described /zh/ as follows:

Among them is a Zay type of (sh), heard in Persian, as in /jarf/ – meaning

'deep'. It is a /sh/ produced by bringing the tongue close to the roof of the mouth opening and causing its surface to vibrate inducing the whispering sound therein. (This sound of speech) begins as a /sh/ at the mid area of the tongue and ends as /z/ at the tongue's tip. This sound can likewise be heard when sticky liquids, such as grease, are boiling.

Secondly, Cantineau (1960:57) rejected Ibn Ya3eesh's interpretation of the intended phonemes as /k/ and /sh/ as these were the only signs available in Arabic orthography to represent them then and postulated /g/ and /zh/ instead on the grounds of phonetic similarity in voice between /j, g, and zh/. As he puts it:

Mais le ġîm (i.e. [j] étant une sonore, et les sonores correspondent à kâf (i.e. [k] et à šîn (i.e. [sh]) n'existent pas dans l'écriture arabe, il faut évidemment comprendre ... un ġîm prononcé g et un ġîm prononcé ž (i.e. [zh], et d'autre part al-ʔaždaru, autrement dit d'une part gamal et ragul.

(Parentheses mine.)

Thirdly, Bakalla (1982:84) interpreted /J/ – /k/ as /g/ on the basis of voice assimilation. On the passage of /J/ to /sh/, Bakalla (1982:88) did not depart from Ibn Jinni's description according to which /J/ – /sh/ before /-t/ as in /xarajt/ – /xarasht/ 'I went out'.

The phoneme /J/ was also replaced by /d/ in an Arabic-based pidgin of the 11th century A.D. that was called Maridi. E.g. /jamal/ – /damal/ 'camel'. Maridi was spoken in what is Central Mauritania today. (For further details see Thomason and El-gibali 1986:327–28.)

Finally, Ibn Al-Sikkeet (1903) gave a number of words in which /J/ varied with (i) /T/. E.g. /baTTa – bajja/ 'to let blood out of a wound'; /ʔuTum – ʔajam/ 'flat, squared house' (p.49); (ii) with /2/ and /d/. E.g. /yaju:s – ya2u:s – yadu:s/ 'to spread corruption', /ʔa2amma – ʔal-ʔamru wa-ʔajamm/ 'it's high time' (p.29); and (iii) with /y/. E.g. /3ashiyy – 3ashijj/ 'evening' (p.28). This latter example was also mentioned amongst others by Ibn Jinni (1954:192–95) and Al-SuyuTi (I:133). Only Al-SuyuTi described the replacement of /j/ by /y/ as stigmatized. This phenomenon of substituting /y/ for /j/ was very common in an olden Arabic dialect called QuDa:3a for which it was very well known. Hence the name /3aj3ajat Quda:3a/.

5.1.2.2.5.2.2 The Synchronic Colloquial Situation

5.1.2.2.5.2.2.1 /J/ in DA

All the dialectological descriptions of the dialect of Damascus City (Bergsträsser 1924:36; Ferguson and Ani 1961:8; Cowell 1964:3; Grotzfeld 1965:5, 8; Ambros 1977:8, 10) agree upon the absence of /j/ from its phonemic inventory in which it is substituted for by /zh/, a voiced alveolar fricative. E.g. /zha:r/ 'neighbour', /zhamal/ 'camel', etc.

My fieldwork speech data from Damascus City and the towns around it referred to above supports this position in general. I would like to add, however, that the phoneme /j/ is also variably, though very rarely, heard in those items in which it is preceded by /d/ or /t/. E.g. /tjauwaz – djauwaz – tzhauwaz – zhzhauwaz/ 'he got married'. /zh/ passes into /sh/ in the word /wajh/ – /wish/ 'face' and when followed by /-t/ as in the word /mu(j/sh)tama3/ – /mishtama3/ 'society'. Sometimes /g/ is used in borrowings from Egyptian Arabic as in /zhama:l – gama:l/ 'beauty'; /zhanne – ganna/ 'paradise'. Finally, the word /jashshar/ is always spoken as /dashshar/ 'to let free'. All of these variants are extremely rare.

5.1.2.2.5.2.2.2 /J/ in IGFA

Unlike DA, pre-immigrant speech preserved /J/, a voiced palatal affricate, intact. Cantineau (1936:24) noted in this respect that:

Le phoneme qui correspond à l'arabe ancien ġîm (i.e. [J]) ... (est) une occlusive affriquée par chuintement ġ (dž)(i.e., [J]) en toute position.
(Parentheses mine.)

E.g. /jabhe/ 'forehead'; /jild/ 'skin'; /yiju:n/ 'they come'.

The immigrant speech situation is no longer the same. In my speech data [j] varies with [zh] which has been adopted from DA since 1967 when both dialects came into day-to-day contact. E.g. /jabhe – zhabh(e/a)/ 'forehead'; /jild – zhild/ 'skin', etc. There are a few cases, moreover, in which /J/ passes into /sh/ before /-t/ as in /mu(j/sh)tama3/ 'society', into /d/ as in /dashshar/ (also see Cantineau 1960:60), and into /g/ in borrowings especially from Egyptian Arabic as in /jama:l – zhama:l – gama:l/ 'beauty'. All such cases are very rare.

In the light of the above phonetic characterisation of /J/ in the three dialects, two variants can be isolated for it in immigrant speech. These are shown in Table 5.5 below.

Table 5.5 Variants for (J) in Immigrant Speech

Variant	Original Dialect	Sociolinguistic Status	Example
1. [J]	SA, IGFA	standard, prestigious, immigrant and intimate	/jau/ 'air',
2. [zh]	DA	non-standard, local and intimate	/zhau/ 'air'

The influence of linguistic, social, and stylistic factors on the variation between [j] and [zh] in the immigrant dialect will be discussed in due course in the following chapters.

5.1.2.2.6 The Phonological Variable (Dh)

5.1.2.2.6.1 /Dh/ in SA

/Dh/ is one of three interdentalals in standard Arabic and is the pharyngealized equivalent of the plain or non-pharyngealized phoneme /dh/ which will be discussed below (5.1.2.2.7). Classical grammarians are divided between those who assigned /Dh/ an interdental articulation according to whom it is produced between 'the tip of the tongue and the edges of the (higher and lower) front incisors' (Sibawaihi 1975:433; Ibn Jinni 1954:53; Al-Zamakhshari 1291:220) and those who described it as an alveolar (Ibn Ya3eesh X:125; Ibn Sina 1963:44). In fact, Ibn Ya3eesh treated all interdentalals as alveolar by their place of articulation. As he (p.125) put it:

/Dh/, /dh/, and /th/ are articulated all at one place by the tip of the tongue and the roots of the incisors ... All are alveolar as they originate from the alveolum.

However, regarding its voice, manner, and pharyngealized status, /Dh/ was unanimously defined by those classical grammarians as a voiced fricative pharyngealized (Sibawaihi 1975:434-36; Ibn Jinni 1954:69-70; Al-Zamakhshari 1291:221; Ibn Ya3eesh X:129). (The actual articulatory process of pharyngealization was, needless to say, misunderstood by them as has been shown above (5.1.2.2.4.1.1).

The issue as to whether the primary stricture involved in the production of /Dh/ is alveolar or interdental has also split modern phoneticians. Impressionistic phoneticians such as Gairdner (1925:20–21) and Cantineau (1960:20) gave different definitions where one described it as an alveolar and one as an interdental respectively. The issue is still controversial even in recent acoustic, physiological and experimental phonetic research. For example, while An–Ani (1970:48) and Ghazeli (1977:72) support the interdental position where according to the latter of whom /Dh/ consists of 'a protrusion of the tip of the tongue between the front teeth ...', the alveolar position is supported by Ahmed (1984:161–62) who has shown that the tongue retracts from the interdental position for plain or non–pharyngealized /dh/ to a post–dental position for emphatic or pharyngealized /Dh/ due to the advancement of the tip and blade of the tongue in the former and the retraction of the body of the tongue towards the upper wall of the pharynx in the latter. Apart from this minor controversy, modern phoneticians, whether impressionistic (Gairdner 1925:20–21; Cantineau 1960:19–21) or experimental (Al–Ani 1974:48; Ghazeli 1977:72, etc.) all agreed in their definitions of /Dh/'s other characteristics as a voiced fricative pharyngealized consonant (although the impressionists' definition of pharyngealization was wrong (see 5.1.2.2.4.1.1)).

Our working phonetic definition of /Dh/ will be Al–Ani's (1970:48) according to which it is described as a voiced interdental fricative pharyngealized. This will be the standard definition to be adopted in the rest of this thesis.

5.1.2.2.6.2 The Colloquial Situation

5.1.2.2.6.2.1 The Historical Colloquial Situation

Classical scholars (Sibawaihi 1975:432; Ibn Jinni 1954:51; Al–Zamakhshari 1291:220; Ibn Ya3eesh X:128) mentioned that /Dh/ had a stigmatized variant /th/ but none of them provided any description of it save one example given by Ibn Ya3eesh which is /Dha:lim/ – /tha:lim/ 'unjust'. Ibn Jinni (1954:232) also noted that /Dh/ was replaced by /T/, a voiceless alveolar plosive pharyngealized, in Nabataean Arabic (a dialect that was spoken in present–day Jordan but now extinct) which, under the influence of Aramaeic, lacked /Dh/ altogether. E.g. /na:hDhu:r/ – /na:hTu:r/ 'watchman, guard'. Al–SuyuTi (II:182–83)

gave the same example of [Dh–T] alternation amongst a few others but did not refer to Nabataean speech. Al–SuyuTi (II:182–83) also cited a few cases in which /Dh/ varied with /D/ as in /fai(D/Dh) al–nafs/ 'joys of the self', etc.

5.1.2.2.6.2.2 The Synchronic Colloquial Situation

5.1.2.2.6.2.2.1 /Dh/ in DA

The dialect of Damascus City lacks the phoneme /Dh/ completely in which it is replaced by two phones [Z], a voiced alveolar–pharyngealized fricative, and [D], a voiced alveolar–pharyngealized stop (Ambros 1977:8–10, 111; Cowell 19614:8; Grotzfeld 1965:7; Ferguson and Ani 1961:228; Bergsträsser 1924:13–14). E.g. /niZa:m/ 'order, system'; /nahDa:hfe/ 'cleanliness'. The split of /Dh/ into two phonemes [Z] and [D] in Damascus Arabic was inadequately explained by Ambros (1977:11–12) and Grotzfeld (1965:7) as being due to the colloquial and literary nature of the words in which they occurred. Colloquial words prefer [D] while the literary ones prefer [Z]. (This issue will be discussed fully in Chapter 6 later.)

My fieldwork data from both Damascus City and the areas around it such as Katana, etc., shows that /Dh/ is absolutely absent at least in people's everyday conversations. Also, in some cases, /D/ passes into and varies with /d/ in the word /Dhahl/ 'remain' – /Dahl – dal/ and its derivatives. Apart from this exception, the linguistic situation is in general unaltered from the one described by the above dialectologists.

5.1.2.2.6.2.2.2 /Dh/ in IGFA

Pre–immigrant speech is noted for its intact preservation of /Dh/ as in SA (Cantineau 1936:18). E.g. /niDhi:f/ 'clean', /niDha:hm/ 'order, system'; /Dhahl/ 'stay', etc. But since 1967 when immigrant speech came into everyday contact with DA, the situation has been altered. In my fieldwork data on immigrant speech, [Dh] varies with [D] and [Z] which have been adopted from DA. E.g. /Dha:hlim/ – /Za:hlim/ 'unjust'; /niDhi:f/ – /nDi:f/ 'clean', etc.

In the light of the linguistic situation described above, the variable (Dh) in immigrant speech has three variants which are summarised in Table 5.6 below.

Table 5.6 Variants for (Dh) in Immigrant Speech

Variant	Original Dialect	Sociolinguistic Status	Example
1. [Dh]	SA, IGFA	standard, prestigious, intimate and immigrant	/Dhahl/ 'stay'
2. [D]	DA	non-standard, intimate, and local	/Dahl/ 'stay'
3. [Z]	DA	non-standard, intimate, and local	/niZa:hm/ 'system'

The nature of variation amongst all three variants will be dissected linguistically and sociolinguistically in due course in the following chapters.

5.1.2.2.7 The Phonological Variable (dh)

5.1.2.2.7.1 /dh/ in SA

/dh/ is the second interdental phoneme and is the non-pharyngealized equivalent of /Dh/ discussed above. Classical grammarians (Sibawaihi 1975:433-35; Ibn Jinni 1954:53, 69; Al-Zamakhshari 1291:220-21) described /dh/ as a voiced interdental fricative in whose production 'the tip of the tongue' is inserted between 'the edges of the incisors'. Only Ibn Ya3eesh (X:125) partially departed from this by assigning it an alveolar place of articulation (for his full definition, see sec. 5.1.2.2.6.1 above).

Modern phoneticians (Gairdner 1925:15,19; Cantineau 1960:21; Al-Ani 1970:47) have agreed in their description of /dh/ with the classical grammarians by characterizing it as a voiced interdental fricative. This will be the standard definition to be adopted in the rest of this thesis.

5.1.2.2.7.2 The Colloquial Situation of /dh/

5.1.2.2.7.2.1 The Historical Colloquial Situation

No stigmatized variants were mentioned for /dh/ by classical grammarians. But some scholars noted a few cases in which /dh/ varied with other alternants none of which was

stigmatized. These were:

(i) /dh/ – /d/.

E.g. /ʔi(dhdh/dd)akara/ 'to remember' (Ibn Jinni 1954:203)

/(dh/d)a2a(dh/d)i2/ 'short – pl' (Ibn Al-Sikkeet 1910:54)

(ii) /dh/ – /z/.

E.g. /(dh/z)araq/ 'of birds'

/(z/dh)abartu ʔal-kita:b/ 'I wrote the book' (Ibn Al-Sikkeet,
1910:58)

(iii) /dh/ – /th/.

E.g. /ja(dh/th)aut/ 'to stand up'

/tala3(th/dh)am/ 'to mutter'

/nabi:(dh/th)/ 'earth or mud taken out from a well'

/2a(th/dh)2a:(th/dh)/ 'quick' (Ibn Jinni 1954:203; Ibn Al-Sikkeet
1910:39)

(iv) /dh/ – /Dh/.

E.g. /waqi:(dh/Dh)a/ 'killed sheep' (Ibn Jinni 1954:233)

How far the above rules were applied is not known. There is no clue as to whether these variants were restricted to certain lexical items or had a wider scope of use. But it seems that they were limited to a few cases. For instance, Ibn Jinni (1954:233) argued that while the variation between /dh/ and /Dh/ in (iv) above is acceptable according to the Quran and common usage, this is not possible in other words of the same root such as /waqadhahu/ 'he killed him' but not /*waqaDhahu/ and /wal-mauqu:dha/ 'and the killed sheep' but not /*wal-mauqu:Dha/.

5.1.2.2.7.2.2 The Synchronic Colloquial Situation

5.1.2.2.7.2.2.1 /dh/ in DA

In the dialect of Damascus City, the phoneme /dh/ is completely lacking and is replaced, like /Dh/ above (5.1.2.2.6.2.2.1), with two variants, a voiced alveolar fricative [z] and a voiced dental stop [d] (Bergsträsser 1924:36; Ferguson and Ani 1961:8; Cowell 1964:3; Grotzfeld 1965:7; Ambros 1977:8–10, 111–12). E.g. /dahab/ 'gold'; /zahab/ 'he

went'; /zikre/ 'memory, souvenir'; etc. When and why the split had occurred is not known. But Grotzfeld (1965:7) and Ambros (1977:111–12) briefly remarked that [d] occurs in colloquial words while [z] in literary words or borrowings from the standard and in exactly the same manner for [Dh] above. (For a fuller discussion of this issue see Chapter 6)

My fieldwork data confirms the above situation not only for Damascus City but also for its surrounding areas including Katana. In none of these areas is /dh/ spoken at least in the everyday conversations of the people.

5.1.2.2.7.2.2.2 /dh/ in IGFA

According to Cantineau's (1936:18) dialectological investigation of pre-immigrant speech, /dh/ was preserved intact without any passage into fricatives or stops. E.g. /ʔidhin/ 'ear'; /dhahab/ 'gold'; /dhimme/ 'conscience', etc.

In my fieldwork data, the phoneme /dh/ has a number of variants in immigrant speech, some of which have been adopted from DA. These are [dh], [z], [d], and [Dh]. The variants [z] and [d] have been mostly adopted from DA. The last variant [Dh] is rare and occurs in a few words such as /Dhugt/ 'I tasted', /Dha:yi(g/j)/ 'the one who tastes'. It also occurs in the singular masculine form of the demonstrative pronoun /ha:hDh(a)/ 'this' or /(ha)Dha:hk/ 'that'. (Cantineau (1936:107) also mentioned this in his discussion of the demonstrative pronouns in the pre-immigrant dialect in which all forms of the above pronoun are affected by the change irrespective of their number or sex.) All of the four variants alternate with one another in almost all words. E.g.

/ha:dh(a) – ha:hDh(a) – ha:d(a) – ha:z(a)/ 'this'

/dhikre – zikre/ 'memory'

/dhimme – zimme/ 'conscience'

/dhahab – dahab/ 'gold'

/ʔidhin – ʔidin/ 'ear'

/ʔidhin – ʔizin/ 'permission', etc.

For the purposes of this study, the variable (dh) can have three variants in immigrant speech. These are set out in Table 5.7 below.

Table 5.7 Variants for (dh) in Immigrant Speech

Variant	Original dialect	sociolinguistic Status	Example
1. [dh]	SA, IGFA	standard, prestigious, immigrant and intimate	/ʔidhin/ 'ear'
2. [z]	DA	non-standard, local, and intimate	/ʔizin/ 'permission'
3. [d]	DA	non-standard, local, and intimate.	/ʔidin/ 'ear'

In the following chapters a linguistic and sociolinguistic analysis will be made to unravel which factors govern the variation of these alternants in immigrant speech.

5.1.2.2.8 The Phonological Variable (th)

5.1.2.2.8.1 /th/ in SA

/th/ is the third interdental and is the voiceless counterpart of /dh/ discussed in the above section. Classical grammarians (Sibawaihi 1975:433–35; Ibn Jinni 1954:53, 69; Al-Zamakhshari 1291:220–21) characterized it as a voiceless interdental fricative. Ibn Ya3eesh (X:125) diverged in part from this characterization by assigning it an alveolar position (for his full definition see (5.1.2.2.6.1) above). Modern phoneticians (Gairdner 1925:15; Cantineau 1960:21; Al-Ani 1970:47) accepted the classical grammarians' description of /th/ as a voiceless interdental fricative. This last definition will be the standard one to be adopted in this thesis.

5.1.2.2.8.2 The Colloquial Situation of /th/

5.1.2.2.8.2.1 The Historical Colloquial Situation

There is no mention of any stigmatized variants for the phoneme /th/ in classical grammarians' works of standard Arabic. A number of non-stigmatized variants, however, were mentioned by some classical scholars. These were:

- (i) Al-SuyuTi (I:273) recorded one instance in which [th] varied with [d] as in /mara(th/d)a al-xubz/ 'to soak or spray bread in or with water'.
- (ii) Ibn Al-Sikkeet (1910:34–35) mentioned a few examples in which [th] alternated with [f], e.g. /jada(th/f)/ 'grave', /2u(th/f)a:la/ 'sediments, remains', /(th/f)ana:?u ?al-da:r/ 'courtyard'.
- (iii) Ibn Al-Sikkeet (1910:38–39) also noted a few cases in which [th] fluctuated with [s], e.g. /(s/th)a:xat rijluhu fi: ?al-?arD/ 'his food submerged in the ground', /na:qa fa:(s/th)ij/ 'a young pregnant camel'; /?ataituhu mala(s/th)a ?al-Dhahla:hm/ 'I came to him as it got dark'.
- (iv) Finally, Ibn Jinni (1954:189) remarked that [th] varied with [t] in the word /?iththa?ara – ?ithta?ara–?itta?ara/ 'he took revenge'.

The extent of the application of the above variations is not specified as to whether they were limited to a few words or had a wider application.

5.1.2.2.8.2.2 The Synchronic Colloquial Situation

5.1.2.2.8.2.2.1 /th/ in DA

In the dialect of Damascus City as described by Bergsträsser (1924:36), Ferguson and Ani (1961:8), Cowell (1964:3), Grotzfeld (1965:7), and Ambros (1977:8–10, 111–112), the phoneme /th/, like the two other interdental stops discussed already, has been replaced by two variants, a voiceless dental stop [t] and a voiceless alveolar fricative [s]. E.g. /ta:ni:/ 'second'; /tne:n/ 'two'; /sa:nye/ 'a second'; /sa:nawi:/ 'secondary'; /sa:nawiyye/ 'secondary school'; etc. When and how the phonemic split occurred cannot be determined, although Ambros (1977:111–12) and Grotzfeld (1965:7) noted that the stop and the fricative variants are associated with colloquial and literary words respectively. (For a fuller discussion of this view see the following chapter.)

In my fieldwork speech data collected in Damascus City and the neighbouring areas that were alluded to at several points above, the phoneme /th/ is altogether absent in people's usual everyday conversations and the above description is thus supported.

5.1.2.2.8.2.2.2 /th/ in IGFA

Pre-immigrant speech is characterized by its maintenance of the voiceless interdental fricative phoneme /th/ completely intact (Cantineau 1936:18). E.g. /tha:ni/ 'second', /thne:n/ 'two', /tha:min/ 'eighth', /tha:lith/ 'third', etc.

The above situation has been considerably altered since 1967 when immigrant speech came into contact with DA. The phoneme /th/ in my fieldwork data on immigrant speech varies with the two DA variants [t] and [s]. E.g. /tha:ni: - ta:ni:/ 'second'; /thne:n - tne:n/ 'two'; /tha:min - ta:min/ 'eighth'; /mathal - masal - matal/ 'proverb'; /mithil - mitil - misil/ 'like'; etc. Two cases were further noted in which [th] was replaced by [d] as in /de:d/ 'breast' (cf. SA /thady/) and /Dh/ as in /Dhixi:n/ 'thick' (cf. SA /thaxi:n/). Both cases are very, very rare.

For the purposes of this study, three variants may be distinguished for the variable (th) in immigrant speech. These are shown in Table 5.8 below.

Table 5.8 Variants for (th) in Immigrant Speech

Variant	Original Dialect	Sociolinguistic Status	Example
1. [th]	SA, IGFA	standard, prestigious, immigrant and intimate.	/tha:lith/ 'third'
2. [t]	DA	non-standard, local, and intimate.	/ta:lit/ 'third'
3. [s]	DA	non-standard, local, and intimate.	/misa:l/ 'example'

In the succeeding chapters we will examine the influence of the linguistic and sociolinguistic factors on the fluctuation amongst these three variants in immigrant speech.

5.2 Summary

This chapter was dedicated to the investigation of those segmental and phonological contrasts that differentiate immigrant speech or IGFA from local speech or DA and standard speech or SA. The two vernaculars were found to diverge from and converge with the standard in several ways. In one case (ie. /q/) all three dialects were apart in which each dialect has a different phonetic realization of it. In others such as /k/, SA and DA were separated from IGFA. And, finally, in others, such as /th/, SA and IGFA were set off from DA. The most obvious differences in the segmental phonology of these dialects lie in the consonantal phonemes. Seven of these phonemes as well as one morphophoneme of related interest were chosen for close phonetic and dialectological analysis. Each phoneme was isolated on the basis of this tri-dialectal contact situation involving immigrant speech a number of variants that will be subjected to detailed sociolinguistic (i.e. linguistic, social, and stylistic) analysis in the following chapters. These variables are (q), (k), (D), (J), (Dh), (dh), (th) and the morphophonemic variable (-k).

Chapter 6

A Linguistic Analysis of the Phonological Variables

6.0 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to study the influence of the linguistic context on conditioning language variation as far as the phonological variables of this study are concerned. In other words, we want to show whether the occurrence of a particular variant of a certain linguistic variable is affected by or due to its immediate linguistic environment, be it phonetic, grammatical, or lexical. Although this type of study is the subject-matter for structural linguistics rather than sociolinguistics, it is the sociolinguists who first showed the effect of the linguistic context on conditioning variation quantitatively rather than introspectively as is the practice of structural linguists. As Hudson (1980:167) puts it:

Strictly speaking this is not a matter for sociolinguistics at all, but for a purely 'internal' study of language structure without reference to society. However, linguists interested in relations internal to language have tended not to study texts, but to use introspective methods, so that the quantitative study of the influence of one item on contiguous ones has been left to sociolinguists.

6.1 A Review of some Relevant Studies

It is beyond the scope of this work to review all the literature on linguistic variation. Therefore I will confine myself to a few exemplary cases in this regard. The first such study is Labov's (1972b:Ch.3) analysis of the Copula 'be' in Black English Vernacular (BEV). The copula has three forms in BEV: (a) a full form as in 'he is happy', (b) a contracted form as in 'He's happy', and (c) a deleted form as in 'He happy'. Labov found that the operation of contraction and deletion is governed by a number of phonetic and grammatical factors. These are shown in Table 6.1 below.

Table 6.1 Percentages for Contraction and Deletion by Linguistic Context for Four Adolescent BEV Groups in Group Style

	Noun Phrase		Predicate Adjectives & Locatives		Verb		Gonna Future	
	C	D	C	D	C	D	C	D
Preceding/following								
consonant	.37	.62	.25	.50	.65	1.00	.89	.87
Preceding/following								
vowel	.80	.29	.70	.37	.86	.33	1.00	1.00
Preceding pronoun	.94	.40	.98	.56	.97	.79	1.00	.96

Key: C = Contraction; D = Deletion

Source: Labov 1972b:107.

Table 6.1 shows that, with the exception of future gonna where contraction and deletion are equally as (near)-categorical irrespective of their immediate linguistic contexts in which they occur, vowels and consonants are opposites of each other as to their effect on the operation of contraction and deletion across all syntactic environments. That is, while a preceding vowel favours contraction, a preceding consonant favours deletion. Moreover, the effect of a preceding pronoun is semi-categorical for contraction. Finally, deletion is much stronger with a preceding pronoun than with a noun ending in a vowel.

While the copula in BEV above has been found to be subject to the influence of both phonetic and grammatical factors, the variable (r) in Scottish English (Romaine 1978) was subject to phonetic constraints only. In Edinburgh, /r/ has three pronunciations: a tap [r1], a voiced frictionless continuant [r2], and a zero \emptyset or [r3]. The occurrence of either pronunciation depended largely on the type(s) of the following phonetic context(s): a vowel, a consonant, and pause. These are shown in Table 6.2 below.

Table 6.2 Percentages for (r) by Phonetic Context in Edinburgh Schoolchildren

	Before vowel	Before consonant	Before pause	All
[r1]	70	40	34	47
[r2]	26	48	38	38
[r3]	4	12	28	15

Source: based on Romaine 1978.

Table 6.2 shows that a following vowel greatly favours the flapped variant [r1] in comparison to a following consonant and pause. The continuant [r2], the second most frequent variant, occurs most likely before a consonant and then in utterance final position. The least favoured variant, the \emptyset pronunciation, is most likely to occur before a pause and least likely before a vowel.

In other sociolinguistic studies, phonetic and/or grammatical constraints of the type referred to above have been found irrelevant in conditioning linguistic variation. Instead linguistic variation has been shown to be due to the influence of lexical constraints. That is, while in phonetically- and/or grammatically-conditioned variation the occurrence of a particular variant is determined largely by what precedes and follows it of other speech-sounds or word classes, in lexically-conditioned variation the same word can fluctuate between two or more pronunciations regardless of its preceding and following environments. Two examples will be given below to illustrate this point: one from Belfast and another from Philadelphia.

The variable (Λ) in Belfast (J. Milroy 1978; also Harris 1985:150-55) varies in its pronunciation between [Λ] as in RP cut /kAt/ and [u] as in RP put /put/. J. Milroy has shown that in a number of words whose RP-pronunciations have [u] regularly the Belfast English Vernacular (BEV) pronunciations have [Λ] alternating with [u] in all words. Some of these words are given in Table 6.3 below.

Table 6.3. Percentages for the Variable (Λ) in 10 Words in Conversational Styles in Belfast

	No. & % of [Λ]		Total No. of Occurrences
pull	51/	74.00	69
full	15/	47.00	32
put	120/	39.00	309
took	49/	33.00	148
could	82/	31.00	268
look	51/	27.00	191
would	88/	16.00	541
should	5/	8.00	59
butcher	1/	100.00	1
pudding	0/	00.00	1

Source: based on J.Milroy 1978:104.

Table 6.3 shows that all words vary between [Λ] and [u] in their pronunciations with the exception of the once-occurring words butcher and pudding which are pronounced with [u] and [Λ] respectively. It is also shown in the Table that the extent of [Λ]-pronunciation varies between words: it is highest in pull (74%) while it is disfavoured by all other words. Whether this is due to the frequency of occurrence of each lexical item was not discussed by J. Milroy. In fact, the data has no pattern as far as frequency is concerned. For instance, pull (frequency = 69) and full (frequency = 32) are opposites in the same way as are put (frequency = 309) and would (frequency = 541). That is, the percentage of [Λ]-pronunciations in most cases is not related to the number of times a word has occurred.

The second example is short (a) which in the American English of Philadelphia can be tense [æh] or lax [æ] (Labov 1981). Like (Λ) in Belfast, the linguistic variation of (a) is lexically-conditioned where the same word can be pronounced with a tense or lax

variant. Labov's results for (a) in word list style are given in Table 6.4 below.

Table 6.4. Percentages for (a) for 31 speakers in Word List Style in Philadelphia

	Words	Total No. of Occurrences	% of Tensing
-NV	planet	62	68
(i.e. following nasal + vowel)	damage	31	35
	manage	31	32
	flannel	31	23
	camera	31	19
	family	31	19
-LV	personality	30	20
(i.e. following lateral + vowel)	pal	31	6
	algebra	30	0
	California	31	0

Source: Labov 1981:294.

Table 6.4 shows that all words, except for algebra and California, fluctuate in their pronunciations between tense and lax forms of /a/. Although the percentage of tensed pronunciations varies from one word to another, it is higher in those words in which /a/ is followed by a nasal plus a vowel than in those in which it is followed by a lateral plus a vowel. It can also be seen from the Table that, although tensed pronunciations are disfavoured except for the word planet, they differ from one word to another in spite of the fact that the same frequency obtains for a large number of cases. For example, all the items whose frequency is 30–31 tensed their pronunciations variably, sometimes at 00.00, sometimes at 6.00, and so on. It has to be noted that Labov did not comment on the influence of frequency on the incidence of tensing, however.

In the analysis to be presented in the following sections, the relevance of phonetic,

syntactic and/or lexical constraints will be examined with reference to the seven phonological and the one morphophonemic variables of this study which are taken up one by one below.

6.2 The Linguistic Analysis and Findings of this Study

6.2.1 The Phonological Variable (q)

6.2.1.1 A Review of the Linguistic Analysis of (q) in Arabic Sociolinguistic Studies

There has been thus far no common agreement amongst 'Arab' sociolinguists on how to describe the variable (q) linguistically. In fact, some studies contradict one another. Also the linguistic analysis of (q) in these studies has been qualitative without exception. All of these studies will be reviewed below.

First, Sallam's (1980:84–88) study. This is a study based on the speech of 40 educated speakers from five Arab countries including Egypt, Jordan, Palestine, Lebanon and Syria. The variable (q) was found to have four variants: a standard variant [q], and three vernacular variants [ʔ], [g] and [k], depending on region. Sallam defined a number of fragmented rules to account for the alternation amongst the above four variants. These rules are as follows.

(i) Phonological Constraints. These were formulated into two rules:

(a) $Q > [q]/(a) - aa?iC$ e.g. /qa:ʔim/ 'existing'

(b) $Caa??i -$ e.g. /3a:ʔiq/ 'obstacle'

(c) $- aCaa?iC$ e.g. /qaSaaʔid/ 'poems'

(d) $?il - aa?$ e.g. /ʔilqaaʔ/ 'recitation'

(b) $Q-Q > [-q-q]/Ca - aa?i-$ e.g. /raqaaʔiq/ 'laminas'

In all these rules, which can obviously be collapsed into one rule such as $Q > [q]/-aa?-$, only the standard forms with [q] are admissible.

(ii) Lexical Constraints. These included two subsets of constraints as follows.

(a) $Q > [q]/ \# - (x) - an \#$ (where x indicates that Q may occur anywhere in the word).

This rule applies to words ending in the adverbial suffix *-an* such as /ʔiTlaaqan/ 'absolutely', /naqdan/ 'in cash', /qaT3an/ 'definitely'. There are exceptions to this rule. For example, the word /taqri:ban/ 'nearly' can also appear with [ʔ] and [g], etc.

(b) There are a number of words that can occur only in their standard forms in formal styles but are replaced by other words of the same meaning in informal styles. These words include /mu:si:qa/ 'music', /ʔalqa:hira/ 'Cairo', /ʔalqurʔa:n/ 'Quran', /raqam/ 'number', /yitwaqqa3/ 'he expects', /mutqan/ 'well done', and /qina:3/ 'mask'. Informally, these words become /mazzi:ka, maSr, ʔilmuS2af, nimra, jintiZir, kiwayyis, and wishsh/ respectively.

(iii) Grammatical Constraints. Four grammatical environments have been described which included (i) passive and active participles, (ii) elative or comparative adjectives, (iii) passive verbs, and (iv) verbal nouns. In almost everyone of these environments the use of the standard variant [q] alternated with its colloquial reflexes [ʔ, g, and k] in informal speech whereas in formal speech the standard form was applied. It is, therefore, futile to proceed any further in defining the constraints.

In their respective studies of Jordanian Arabic (Abdel-Jawad 1981:194–96), Palestinian Arabic (Shorrab 1981:195), and Egyptian Arabic (Schmidt 1974:128 quoted in the above two), no phonetic or grammatical constraints were found to be involved in the standardization of (q) in these dialects. As Abdel-Jawad (1981:194–96) puts it:

For (Q)–standardization internal linguistic constraints do not exist as far as is known ... All in all, we did not observe any kind of concentration ... whereby certain phonetic constraints are correlated with ... high or low percentage of (Q)–standardization.

This statement obviously runs counter to Sallam's above. In fact, Abdel-Jawad (1981:201) was unsatisfied with Sallam's constraints and tried:

... to replace Salam's phonological and grammatical environments with one condition stated as follows:
Each lexical item which can be classified as pure standard strongly favours the [q] pronunciation ... This condition includes all items Salam speaks about ... Instead of the many fragmented environments Salam suggested, we have one linguistic condition which is the lexical status of the items containing the (Q) variable.

The pure standard forms in Abdel-Jawad's condition include all items that are mostly technical and cultivated in nature and with no colloquial equivalents. It is beyond the scope of this work to consider the nature of these words further in this section since the criteria of their classification are mostly impressionistic, inconsistent and based on non-linguistic procedures. The inquisitive reader is referred to Abdel-Jawad (1981:Ch.3 especially pp.119-23) and a similar study by Al-Amadihi (1985:112-18) for a fuller view of the picture..

Like Abdel-Jawad (1981) and the others, Holes (1983:452-55) rejected the role of phonetic constraints in conditioning linguistic variation between standard [q] and its vernacular form [g] in Bahraini Arabic but, alternatively, opted for what he called the Lexical Hypothesis (LH). Although Holes's analysis did not include all the lexical items in his data where he excluded all the words that exclusively occurred in (i) their colloquial forms, or (ii) their standard forms and thus including only those words whose occurrence in the data varied between the colloquial and the standard forms, three conditions were cited in support of the so-called LH. These were:

- (i) Segments change in bundles rather than separately. E.g. in the word /gital/ 'he killed', two colloquial variants, namely [g] and [i] change simultaneously into [q] and [a] as in the standard form /qatal/ with the same meaning.
- (ii) Absence of hybrid/intermediate forms in the change from the colloquial to the standard form. E.g. there is no intermediate form such as /gatal/ between /gital/ and /qatal/ above.
- (iii) The presence of high level syntactic and semantic co-occurrence constraints in those cases in which one segment is affected. For instance, although variation in the verb /gaTa3-qaTa3/ 'to cut' is confined to the use of [g] and [q] only, both forms occur with different collocations in the vernacular and the standard as shown in the examples below:

- 1. /... gTa3o rizji: .../ 'they cut off my livelihood'
- 2. /...u qTa3o il3ala:qa:t .../ 'and they severed relations ...'

Both examples have different collocations and meanings. In (1) the non-standard verb form /gTa3o/ collocates with a non-standard noun form /rizji:/ as re-inforced by the use

of the subvariant [j] for [g] before the front vowel and its reference to a mean job: grave-digger. In (2) the standard form of the verb collocates with a standard noun in the world of politics. (1) and (2) are also differentiated in that the former is domestic, intimate, and dialectal while the latter is official, public, and standard. Another such example is the use of the word /qa:3id/ which in addition to its meaning as 'the one who is sitting' in both the standard and the vernacular also denotes the progressive aspect in the vernacular as in /2se:n ga:3id yishta8il/ 'Hsain is working' (Holes 1981:172–73).

This linguistic situation led Holes (1983:454) to treat the alternant variant forms with [g] and [q] as phonologically unrelated and that they are learnt separately with each form being used depending on situation. As he puts it:

They 'mean the same' referentially but are kept apart formally because of their different and mutually exclusive social meanings ...

One meaning is domestic, intimate, and dialectal while the other is official, public, and standard.

The severest criticism of Holes's analysis came from Al-Amadihi (1985) in his study of Qatari Arabic in which (q) has four variants: a standard variant [q] and three vernacular ones [8], [g], and [j]. He provided counter-evidence from his data on the existence of hybrid forms. For instance, the word /qari:b/ 'near' can have (i) a standard form /qari:b/, (ii) a vernacular form /giri:b/, and (iii) a hybrid form /gari:b/ (Al-Amadihi 1985:162). Although Al-Amadihi (1985:156–59) found certain co-occurrence constraints especially in political and religious expressions such as /qaDa:? wa qadar/ 'fate-decreed', /siya:sit qaTar/ 'Qatar's policy' in which the standard forms are favoured compared to the common expressions such as /3a:yish fi: giTar/ 'I live in Qatar' in which the colloquial variants are favoured, he still and strongly refused Holes's LH on the grounds that it is:

... counter-intuitive to claim that paired items like [giTar] and [qaTar] are separate items: i.e. none is derived from the other simply because no medial forms occur. Native speakers feel, however, that such pairs are not only semantically and morphologically related but also feel that one is ultimately derived from the other. (Al-Amadihi 1985:164).

As an alternative to the LH, Al-Amadihi (1985:164–65) proposed what he called the Phonological Hypothesis (PH) to account for the variation between [q], [8], [g] and [j]

in Qatari Arabic. These four variants are phonologically related by a set of rules that generate them. For example, the different forms of the word /qali:l/ 'little, few' (i.e. /gili:l, gali:l, jili:l, qali:l/ are related as follows:

- (1) (Q) > [q] circle 1 as in /qali:l/ 'few'
- (2) (A) > [a]
- (3) [q] > [g] circle 2 as in /gili:l/
- (4) [a] > [i]
- (5) [g] > [j] circle 3 as in /jili:l/
- (6) [i] > [i]

The capital letters represent diaphonemes or simply phonemes in the form of abstract entities to which phonetic entities or allophones are related. In the production of these forms, some speakers may use circle 1 for /qali:l/, circle 2 for /gili:l/, and circle 3 for /jili:l/. Hybrid forms like /gali:l/ may be explained as when speakers do not use all the rules in a particular circle.

Although Al-Amadihi's analysis of the phonological relatedness between the standard and its vernacular forms in Qatari Arabic is properly and rightly motivated at the psychological level, the PH falls short of explaining variation in the data at the internal linguistic level. For instance, the forms /qali:l, gili:l, and jili:l/ mentioned above cannot be treated as phonologically conditioned as [g] and [j] or [g] and [q] can all occur before the same phonetic environments, namely, /-i.../ and/or /-a.../. Even Al-Amadihi himself (1986:132) clearly stated that variation between [q], [g], [g] and [j] is unconditioned phonetically.

In the following section we turn to a detailed and quantitative linguistic analysis of the variable (q) in our own data.

6.2.1.2 Analyzing (q) Linguistically in This Study

6.2.1.2.1 Phonetic Constraints

In immigrant speech, the alternation between the standard variant [q] and its three vernacular variants, namely, the local variant [ʔ], and the two immigrant variants proper [g and j], is phonetically unconditioned. Almost any word in the data can appear with

two or more variants even by the same speaker in the same speech style. For instance, the words:

/qam2 ~ ?am2 ~ gam2/ 'wheat'

/qa:l ~ ?a:l ~ ga:l/ 'he said'

/qa:m ~ ?a:m ~ ga:m/ 'he rose'

/qali:l ~ ?ali:l ~ g(a/i)li:l ~ jili:l/ 'few, little'

/rafi:q ~ rfi:? ~ rifi:g ~ rifi:j/ 'friend'

can all be pronounced variably without the influence of the preceding or following segments. Thus these results are in line with Abdel-Jawad's (1981:194–96), Shorrab's (1981:195), Holes's (1983:455), Schmidt's (1974:128) and Al-Amadihi's (1985:132) summarized in the previous section.

These results do not support Cantineau's (1936:28, 36) analysis of [g]–palatalization in pre-immigrant speech. More precisely, Cantineau noted that [g] palatalized into [j] in the following phonetic environments:

(1) next to front vowels, e.g. /jible/ 'south', /ri:j/ 'throat'

(2) next to non-pharyngealized consonants, e.g. /3irj/ 'vein'

(3) when preceded rather than followed by a front vowel, e.g. /ragi:j/ 'thin',

/dagi:j/ 'narrow' (the form /*raji:j/ and the form /*daji:j/ are inadmissible).

In our own data not only the same word may be pronounced with [g] or [j] but also [g] does not palatalize into [j] even when the phonetic conditions are met. A number of phonetic contexts are shown in Table 6.5 below to illustrate this point.

Table 6.5 Percentages for [g – j] Alternation by Phonetic Context in Conversational Styles

Phonetic Context	Variants		Number
	[g]	[j]	
Vocalic	88.56	11.44	4478
Consonantal	91.20	8.80	91
Prevocalic	88.16	11.84	3260
Postvocalic	89.66	10.34	1218
Front vowel	78.64	21.36	2398
Back vowel	100.00	00.00	2080

Table 6.5 shows that although [j] occurs exclusively in the environment of front vowels, it does so 21% of the occasions as against 78% for [g]. The same applies for the remaining environments in which [j] is not favoured in comparison with [g].

6.2.1.2.2 Grammatical Constraints

Analyzing the variable (q) by syntactic category into nouns, adjectives, adverbs, and verbs is shown in Table 6.6 below.

Table 6.6. Percentages for (q) by syntactic Category in Conversational Styles

	[q]	[ʔ]	[g]	[j]	Number
Noun	27.36	11.46	54.06	7.12	2793
Verb	8.52	14.94	70.18	6.36	3096
Adjective	28.82	12.20	44.92	14.06	590
Adverb	22.46	15.46	52.18	9.90	<u>414</u>
Total					6893

Table 6.6 shows that in each grammatical category the immigrant variant [g] is favoured over all others and that it is most likely to be used in verbs, then in nouns and adverbs, and then in adjectives. The next most used variant is the standard one [q] which is the least likely to be used in verbs but most likely in nouns and adjectives, etc. The local variant [ʔ] shows an almost equal distribution across syntactic categories. Finally, the immigrant sub-variant [j] is the least used variant.

These results contradict Sallam's (1980:85) analysis referred to above according to which [q] is basically distributed amongst participles, relative adjectives, the passive and verbal nouns. Although the grammatical categories defined in both this case and his apparently differ in their slightest details, the data summarised in Table 6.6 above shows that in each case [q] occurs less frequently than, say, [g].

Sallam's analysis is also contradicted in another respect. For instance, he did not mention whether his grammatical categories occurred as often as one another or whether some were more frequent than the others. A re-analysis of the data of Table 6.6 above shows that some variants favoured some syntactic categories over others. [q] favoured nouns (59.20%) over verbs (20.44%), adjectives (13.16%) and adverbs (7.20%). [ʔ] disfavoured nouns (34.68%), adjectives (7.84%), and adverbs (6.98%), but favoured verbs (50.50%). Like [ʔ], [g] disfavoured nouns (36.28%), adjectives (6.39%), and adverbs (5.20%), but favoured verbs (52.22%). Finally, [j] occurred more frequently in nouns and verbs (38.86% and 36.92% each) than in adjectives (16.22%) and adverbs (8.00%).

But the above analysis is misleading as it obscures the true picture of variation in the data. Almost all lexical items of any grammatical category occurred with two or more variants. For example, the words:

/qam2 ~ gam2 ~ ʔam2/ 'wheat, noun'

/qali:l ~ gili:l ~ ʔali:l/ 'few, adjective'

/qabl ~ gab(u)l ~ ʔabl/ 'before, adverb'

/y(u)wa:fiq ~ ywa:fig ~ ywa:fiʔ/ 'he agrees, verb'

can be pronounced with all three variants [q, g, and ʔ] despite the fact that in each case the same grammatical category is involved. Therefore, an alternative analysis for variation

in the data is required and this will be given in the following section. This alternative is lexical.

6.2.1.2.3 Lexical Constraints

6.2.1.2.3.1 Introducing the Lexical Diffusion Hypothesis

Since a lexical analysis of the data bears directly on and provides support for the lexical diffusion theory (J. Milroy 1978:101; Labov 1981:393; Hudson 1980:169), it is noteworthy to give a brief airing to its general principles that will be utilized as a framework in the ensuing analysis of the phonological variables of this study.

The lexical diffusion hypothesis (LDH) was first proposed by Wang (1969) and was later applied to a number of languages including Chinese, English, Dravidian languages, Australian languages, Swedish and German (e.g. the papers in Wang 1977; Wang 1979; Heath 1981; Johnson 1983; Phillips 1984; J. Milroy 1978; Labov 1981; Harris 1985; Chen 1972, etc.). The LDH was put forward to explain irregularities and exceptions to the hitherto long held belief of the neo-grammarians that sound changes operate regularly and without exceptions. According to the neo-grammarian Regularity Hypothesis (RH), phonetic laws are regular and affect all eligible phonemes while any exceptions to these laws are due to dialect mixture, borrowing, and analogy. (For more details on the neo-grammarian doctrine, see Bloomfield 1933:351; Labov 1981:27274; Phillips 1984:321–23; Johnson 1983:sec.2.2.; Chen 1972:457–65; and Wang 1969.)

The LDH offers a radically different view for the course of linguistic change. First, morphemes or lexemes (words) are the carriers of language change but not phonemes as in RH. Secondly, the change need not be regular and is never so in practice. In other words, linguistic change gradually spreads or diffuses through the lexicon (the words of the language) affecting them not all but some at a time. Hence the name lexical diffusion. The change also may or may not go to completion, recede or stop altogether. Chen and Wang (1975:256) defined lexical diffusion as follows:

... a phonological rule gradually extends its scope of operation to a larger and larger portion of the lexicon, until all relevant items have been transformed by the process.

Or, as Wang and Cheng (1977:150) put it by way of contrasting their views with Bloomfield's:

As contrasted with Bloomfield's conception, we hold that words change their pronunciations by discrete, perceptible increments but severally at a time (i.e. lexically gradual), rather than always in a homogeneous block. This latter conception of phonological change may be called lexical diffusion.

The implementation of lexical diffusion is through synchronic variation. Wang (1979:362) recognized three stages of synchronic variation, namely the unchanged (U), variable (V), and changed (C). These are hypothetically schematized in Table 6.7 below.

Table 6.7 Stages of Lexical Diffusion via Synchronic Variation

Words/Stages	U	V	C
W1	-	-	<u>W1</u>
W2	-	<u>W2-W3</u>	-
W3	-	<u>W2-W3</u>	-
W4	W4	-	-
W5	W5	-	-

Source: Wang 1979:363.

Table 6.7 shows that words 4 and 5 are unchanged, words 2 and 3 are involved in variation, and only word 1 is changed. To give a real example, there is a rule in English (Phillips 1984) that laxes /u:/ to /u/ before /t/ in monosyllables but this rule has not affected all the eligible words in the language as shown in Table 6.8 below.

Table 6.8 Laxing /u:/ before /t/ in English Monosyllables by Stage of Lexical Diffusion

Word/Stage	Unchanged	Variable	Changed
foot	-	-	/fut/
soot	-	/su:t/ ~ /sut/	-
root	-	/ru:t/ ~ /rut/	-
boot	/bu:t/	-	-
loot	/lu:t/	-	-

Source: Phillips 1984:320.

Table 6.8 shows that boot and loot still have their tense /u:/ pronunciations intact, soot and root vary between tense and lax, and only foot has laxed completely.

The mechanism by which sound change diffuses itself lies in frequency – i.e. how frequent a word is or the number of times it occurs. But whether it is the most or least frequent words that change first cannot be settled. Some research has indicated that the most frequent words are the first to be affected by the change (e.g. Hooper 1976:95–99; Phillips 1980, 1983; Johnson 1983). For instance, Phillips (1980, quoted in Phillips 1984:322) noted that in the raising of OE (i.e. Old English) /a/ to /o/ before nasals, the least frequent words (frequency = 1–10) had raised /o/ 39% of the time while the most frequent words (frequency = over 400) had /o/ 98% of the time.

Other research gave contradictory results and indicated that the most frequent words are less prone to the change or are pronounced most casually (Dressler and Wodak 1982:353; Al-Amadihi 1985:157; Phillips 1984; Hooper 1976:99–100). For example, in her study of glide deletion (i.e. /y/ – /Ø/) as in new /nyu:/ – /nu:/ in Southern American English, Phillips (1984) found that in her data which was drawn from 60 speakers the least frequent words deleted their glide more frequently than the most frequent ones. Her results are shown in Table 6.9 below.

Table 6.9 Frequency of Glideless Pronunciation for 60 Speakers in Southern American English

Frequency Group	Example Words	Glideless Percentage
0-1	nude, Tudor, etc.	74.4
1-10	nutrient, tutor, etc.	71.8
11-100	Tuesday, numerous	60.1
101-500	knew, during	54.5
Over 500	new	43.00

Source: based on Phillips 1984:323.

Table 6.9 shows that the lower the frequency with which a word occurs, the greater the glide loss it undergoes. Thus the once-occurring words have the highest value of glideless pronunciation (74.4%) compared to the over-500-token word new which has the lowest such pronunciation (43.00%).

In the light of this brief exposé of lexical diffusion, we can now proceed to the analysis of our data paying attention to two things, namely the extent of lexical diffusion in the data and the role word frequency plays in it.

6.2.1.2.3.2 Lexical Diffusion and the Variable (q)

6.2.1.2.3.2.1 Its Extent or Stages

Due to the large number of the (q)-containing words in the data (which amounted to 6893 tokens in conversational styles), it would be impossible to list every word with its frequency here. To economize on space, therefore, only the raw figures will be mentioned. These figures were arrived at by tabulating all the items by speaker, variant, and style which were then added together for all the speakers and styles. The results were finally expressed in percentages that were calculated according to the statistical formula given in chapter 5. The results have not been checked for significance and this is the position taken by Labov (1981), J.Milroy (1978), Phillips (1984), etc.

The results obtained for the stages of lexical diffusion in the data concerning the variable (q) are shown in Table 6.10 below.

Table 6.10 Percentages for (q) by Stage of Lexical Diffusion in Conversational Styles

Stages	Number of tokens	%
Unchanged	(1113)	16.14
Variable	(5238)	76.00
Changed	(542)	7.86
Total	(6893)	100.00

Table 6.10 shows that the vast majority of the words is variable (76%) while only a quarter of the data is in the remaining two stages of unchange (16%) and change (about 8%). By a variable item is meant any lexical item that may vary its pronunciation between (i) [q - ? - g - j],, e.g. /qali:l - ?ali:l - gili:l - jili:l/ 'few', (ii) [q - ? - g] e.g. /qalb - ?alb - galb/ 'heart', (iii) [q - ?], e.g. /qult - ?ult/ 'I said', or (iv) [q - g], e.g. /qult - gult/ 'I said', etc. An unchanged item is one that appeared with either [g] or [j] throughout. Finally, changed items indicate those ones that appeared with either [q] or [?] throughout.

Although Table 6.10 above does not show the exact contribution of every variant to the averaged scores expressed for the variable as a whole, the overall picture of diffusion, nonetheless, remains true even when presented for each variant separately. For this purpose, Table 6.11 below re-analyses the data and shows the extent of lexical diffusion by variant.

Table 6.11 Percentages for (q) by Stage of Lexical Diffusion by Variant in Conversational Styles

Stages	Variants						
	[q]	[ʔ]	[g]	[j]	All		
Unchanged	00.00	00.00	(1044) 25.10	(69) 13.27	1113		
Variable	(814) 63.06	(856) 92.94	(3117) 74.90	(451) 86.73	5238		
Changed	(477) 36.94	(65) 7.06	00.00	00.00	542		
Total	(1291) 100.00	(921) 100.00	(4161) 100.00	(520) 100.00	6893		

Table 6.11 shows that every phonetic variant greatly favours variation over the other stages. The local variant [ʔ] favours the variable stage the most (93%) and the standard variant [q] the least (63%), while the main immigrant variant [g] is intermediate (75%). The changed items favour [q] ($477/542 = 88.00$) over [ʔ] ($65/542 = 12.00$) while the unchanged items favour the main immigrant form [g] ($1044/1113 = 93.80$) over the secondary one [j] ($69/1113 = 6.20$), judging by the number of instances in each case.

The vast amount of variation in the data compared to the other two stages of diffusion is not confined to this study alone. A re-analysis of Labov's (1981:294) word list on /a/ tensing mentioned above (6.1) showed similar results in which variation (i.e. tensing and laxing) amounted to 82% (i.e. 278/339) while unchange (ie. non-tensing or laxing) to 18% (i.e. 61/339).

There is hardly any evidence on the nature and scope of lexical diffusion in Arabic sociolinguistic studies. In their studies of Jordanian Arabic and Qatari Arabic, however, Abdel-Jawad (1981) and Al-Amadihi (1985) can be said to have reached similar results, although via a different route. Both have divided their corpus of words on (q) into four lexical categories and in roughly the same manner. Two of these were named in each case one (1) pure colloquial words and another (2) pure standard words with some slighter differences between both studies in the criteria followed in their definitions. Although the other two categories were named and classified differently in each study depending on

phonetic and morphological considerations and their suitability for use in writing, one such category was closer to the colloquial and another closer to the standard. (This is not the proper place to evaluate or give further details about the 'doubted' criteria used in their classifications and for further information the reader is referred to Abdel-Jawad (1981:119-23) and Al-Amadihi (1985:112-18).) Their results which have been somewhat adapted for the purposes of this study are shown in Table 6.12 below.

Table 6.12 Percentages for (q) by lexical Category in Jordanian and Qatari Arabic

Category/Variety	Jordanian Arabic		Qatari Arabic	
I	(1596)	12.94	(1279)	13.12
II & III	(9288)	75.30	(7035)	72.20
IV	(1451)	11.76	(1531)	14.68
Total	(12335)	100.00	(9745)	100.00

Source: adapted from Abdel-Jawad 1981:131 and Al-Amadihi 1985:134.

Table 6.12 shows that categories II and III, which are grouped together here to serve our purposes, account for the vast majority of the data in both studies. They correspond to the variable stage in our own study which they match very closely. Categories I (pure colloquial) and IV (pure standard) both amount to a quarter of the data and which resemble the unchanged and changed stages of our own data above. These two last categories, it has to be noted, also included some amount of variation which could not be determined due to the presentation of these results for the whole variable and not by variant.

6.2.1.2.3.2.2 The Variable (q) and Frequency

In the above analysis of (q) by lexical diffusion, summarized in Tables 6.10-11, the scope or amount of lexical change cannot be known exactly. That is, the figures, although they indicate that the data is this much variable, etc., do not tell us how far the lexical change has been effected. We want to see whether the frequency of the lexical

item(s) determines the degree to which the change is enforced in them. To help answer this question, the data was analyzed by frequency. In Table 6.13 below are shown the percentages for the resultant sound change (i.e. [q] or [ʔ] use) by frequency group.

Table 6.13 Percentages for Sound Change on (q) by Frequency in Conversational Styles

Frequency Group	% of Changed Pronunciations (i.e. [q] and [ʔ] use)	No. and Total
0-1	40.58	(153/377)
2-10	41.02	(784/1911)
11-50	35.96	(773/2150)
51-100	20.70	(232/1121)
101-200	21.50	(240/1116)
201-300	13.76	(30/218)
Total	32.00	(2212/6893)

Table 6.13 shows that neither the least frequent items nor the most frequent ones favour the changed pronunciations (including both the use of the standard variant [q] or the local variant [ʔ]) although the highly frequent items disfavour them greater than the infrequent ones. In other words, the low-frequency words show a tendency towards the change more often than the high-frequency ones.

The results summarized in Table 6.13 above give support to the model that predicts that the most frequent words disfavour the change and are casually pronounced. However, the view that holds that the least frequent items favour the change more than the highly frequent ones cannot be strongly supported although the former tend to be pronounced casually less often than the latter.

In his study of Qatari Arabic, Al-Amadihi (1985:154) reached a similar conclusion. More precisely, he counted the frequencies for only five of the most frequent words

(frequency range: 189–451) in his data and found that four of these words, namely /qa:l/ 'he said', /qolt/ 'I said', /qabil/ 'before', /yaqu:l/ 'he says' were almost categorical in their casual pronunciations (over 98% in each case). Only one word /ʔa3taqid/ 'I believe' did not fit into this picture, which, although it still did not favour an outright standard pronunciation (9.52%) but rather a semi-standard one (89.95%), was found to be replaced in the colloquial by a different word of a similar meaning, namely /ʔa2sib/ (Al-Amadihi 1985:155).

6.2.1.2.3.3 Summary

The linguistic analysis of the variable (q) can be summarized as follows:

- (i) The alternation between the standard variant [q], the local variant [ʔ] and the original immigrant variants [g and j] in the speech of immigrant speakers is neither phonetically nor syntactically conditioned.
- (ii) The variation between the above variants is alternatively lexically conditioned and as such it provides support for the lexical diffusion hypothesis. More precisely, our data has shown that the same word occurred in two or more pronunciations with two or more variants involved. Of the three stages of lexical diffusion, the variable stage accounted for the vast majority of the data (76%) while the unchanged and changed stages accounted for 16% and 8% each. Some slight differences were found amongst the variants with respect to the extent of lexical diffusion in them with [ʔ] showing the highest amount of variation (93%) and [q] the least (63%), while [g] was intermediate (75%).
- (iii) As far as frequency is concerned, neither the most frequent items nor the least frequent ones were found to favour the changed pronunciations (i.e. those with [q] and [ʔ]) although the latter tended to do so more frequently than the former. This result would therefore support the view that postulates that the most frequent items are casually pronounced.

6.2.2 The Variable (k)

6.2.2.1 A Review of Previous Arabic Sociolinguistic Studies of (k)

The variable (k) has been qualitatively treated from a linguistic point of view in only two sociolinguistic studies of Arabic, namely, one in Jordanian Arabic (Abdel-Jawad 1981)

and another in Bahraini Arabic (Holes 1981, 1983). In the former, Abdel-Jawad distinguished between two varieties of Jordanian Arabic: i.e. Bedouin and Fallaheen, in both of which /k/ has two variants, a standard [k] and a stigmatized [ch]. For Bedouin speakers of Jordanian Arabic, Abdel-Jawad (1981:281–82) noted that [ch] is disappearing and as such 'it is futile to look for phonetic conditioning for the [k/ch] distribution'. Amongst the Fallaheen group, [ch] was found to persist in the speech of 28 out of 53 speakers but was phonetically unconditioned (Abdel-Jawad 1981:294). Eight words were cited in support of this conclusion in which [k – ch] occurred next to both front and back vowels as in [ki:f, chi:f, ke:f, che:f] 'how' and [kul, chul, chil] 'all', etc. Finally, Abdel-Jawad (1981:295) mentioned that the [ch]–pronunciation is favoured (63%) in the second person feminine pronominal suffix as in /ʔabu:ch/ 'your (fem.) father'.

In Bahraini Arabic, [k] also varies with [ch] and this variation was not found to be phonetically conditioned (Holes 1983:453). Alternatively, Holes (1983:453–56) opted for what he termed the lexical hypothesis as an explanation for the linguistic variation involved. Three pieces of evidence were driven to support the so-called lexical hypothesis and which were:

(i) Features change in bundles and simultaneously. E.g. the change effected in the complementizer /chinnah/ 'as if' in the vernacular to /kaʔan/ of the standard involves the following co-occurring phonetic changes:

1. ch > <k> (kinn–)
2. i > <a> (kann–)
3. ø > <ʔ> /a–nn (kaʔnn–)
4. ø > <a> /ʔ–nn (kaʔann–)

(Holes 1981:176)

That is, as [ch] > [k] in the word cited above, other phonetic changes are also effected which include vowel lowering (i.e. /i/ > /a/) and glottal stop retrieval (i.e. /ø/ > /ʔ/).

(ii) Absence of hybrid or medial forms. E.g. in the change from colloquial /chinnah/ to standard /kaʔan–/ no hybrid forms such as /*chaʔann–/ or /*kinn–/ occurred.

(iii) High-level stylistic and co-occurrence constraints. E.g. although in the word /ʔasma:(ch/k)/ 'fish' there is only one segment affected by the change, both /ʔasma:k/ and /ʔasma:ch/ occur in different collocations. One has a colloquial collocation such as /... kinna nwaddi lasma:ch illi Sidna:hum 3ind il yazza:f .../ 'we used to take the fish we'd caught to the bulk-buyer', and another has a standard collocation as in /... sharkat il asma:k .../ 'fish company'. In the former the word 'fish' accompanies a purely dialectal context with words such as /nwaddi/ 'take' and /yazza:f/ 'bulk-buyer', while in the latter it accompanies a standard word /sharikat/ 'company'.

All three reasons led Holes (1983:454) to treat phonetic pairs such as /chinnah/ and /kaʔann/ etc., as phonologically unrelated for which two separate lexical entries are required, the use of each one of which is sociolinguistically determined. As he puts it (1983:454):

According to this (lexical) hypothesis, the syntactic function performed by the complementiser 'as if' can be realized as one of two equivalent lexical items, depending on (stylistic, sociolinguistic) context, for which two separate lexical entries would be required.

The lexical hypothesis has already been criticized by Al-Amadihi (1985) with respect to its 'phonological unrelatedness principle' (6.2.1.1) and I am not going to repeat this here. The other criteria can be refuted as follows. First, that features change in bundles is no good reason to be cited in favour of the lexical hypothesis as all of the co-occurring phonetic changes such as vowel lowering (i.e. /i/ > /a/) and ʔ-retrieval in the case of /kaʔann/ above can be full variables in their own right which are no less involved in the same linguistic variation than (k) itself. This is indeed the case in my data. Although (a) and (ʔ) were not included in my study, a quick glance at the data shows that both variables are as much involved in variation as are any other variables. For example, /ʔ/ alternates in word final position in particular with ø as in /sama:ʔ - sime - sama/ 'sky'; /raja:ʔ - riye - raja/ 'hope'. (For examples on vowels that are involved in variation, see Chapter 5.) In other words, /ʔ/-retrieval (as well as /a/-lowering as in /sama:ʔ - sime/) can occur with and without the occurrence of [k and ch]. Secondly, as for medial forms, they also occurred in my data. For instance,

/kaʔanni/ 'as if I was ...' which was also cited by Holes above, varied with /chinni/, /kinni/, /kanni/, etc., with /kinni/ being the hybrid form. Finally, high-level co-occurrence constraints are not necessarily accompanied by separate (i.e. colloquial or standard) collocations. For example, although the word /fuS2a/ 'standard' is basically a standard word, it does not collocate with a standard verb form all the time. Rather, both colloquial and standard forms of the verb /ʔa2chi:/ and /ʔa2ki:/ 'I talk' were attested in the data, e.g. /(ʔa2chi:/ʔa2ki:) fuS2a/ 'I talk posh'. The same applies to many other such cases.

6.2.2.2 Analyzing (k) in This Study

6.2.2.2.1 Phonetic Constraints

In immigrant speech [k] varies with [ch]. Cantineau (1936:28–39) noted that palatalization was principally effected next to:

- (i) front vowels, e.g. /di:ch/ 'cock', /chalb/ 'dog'; and
- (ii) non-pharyngealized consonants, e.g. /2inch/ 'jaw'.

In my data I examined the effect of some phonetic environments on the alternation between [k] and [ch] in the conversational speech of all the 38 informants. More precisely, this was examined in the speech style called immigrant-to-immigrant style (IIS) for the 28 young ones and in two speech styles, namely immigrant-to-immigrant style (IIS) and immigrant-to-local style (ILS) for the 10 old ones. The results, which were grouped together, are shown in Table 6.14 below.

Table 6.14 Percentages for (k) by Phonetic Environment in Conversational Styles

	[k]	[ch]	No.
Vocalic	(3330) 72.66	(1253) 27.34	4583
Consonantal	(88) 83.80	(17) 16.20	105
Total	(3418) 72.91	(1270) 27.09	4688
Front	(2386) 65.56	(1253) 34.44	3639
Back	(944) 100.00	00.00 00.00	944
Total	(3330) 72.66	(1253) 27.34	4583
Prevocalic	(2543) 71.58	(1010) 28.42	3553
Postvocalic	(787) 76.40	(243) 23.60	1030
Total	(3330) 72.66	(1253) 27.34	4583

Table 6.14 shows that palatalization is not only disfavoured in all phonetic environments, but also does not apply when the phonetic conditions are met. For instance, in the front vowel environment, [k] is greatly favoured, which should be otherwise. The same result has already been found for the variation between [g] and [j] in which palatalization was disfavoured under similar conditions (6.2.1.2.1).

6.2.2.2.2 Grammatical Constraints

The same speech data summarized in Table 6.14. above has also been investigated for the effect of grammatical constraints on [k – ch] variation. The results are shown in Table 6.15 below.

Table 6.15 Percentages for (k) by Grammatical Category in Conversational Speech

	[k]	[ch]	No.
Noun	(1433) 79.65	(366) 20.35	1799
Adjective	(373) 74.00	(131) 26.00	504
Adverb	(334) 56.61	(256) 43.39	590
Verb	(1278) 71.20	(517) 28.80	1795
Total	(3418) 73.00	(1270) 27.00	4688

Table 6.15 shows that palatalization is disfavoured in all syntactic environments.

The disfavouring of [ch] in both phonetic and grammatical environments coupled with the fact that the same word, no matter what its phonetic form or grammatical category is, alternates between [k] and [ch] pronunciations simultaneously, for example, /2achi:/ 'talk - noun' - /2aki:/, /?a2(a)chi:/ 'I talk' - verb' - /?a2(a)ki:/ etc., requires a different analysis. This is reported in the next section.

6.2.2.2.3 Lexical Diffusion and (k)

6.2.2.2.3.1 Stages of Lexical Diffusion

The distribution of the three stages of lexical diffusion with respect to the variable (k) in the whole conversational speech data for all informants is given in Table 6.16 below.

Table 6.16 Percentages for (k) by Stage of Lexical Diffusion in Conversational Styles

Stages	No. & % of (k)
Unchanged	(90) 1.40
Variable	(2491) 38.72
Changed	(3852) 59.88
Total	(6433) 100.00

Table 6.16 shows that the majority of the lexical items (60%) are changed in which the standard [k]—pronunciation is favoured or solely used. It is also seen in the Table that about 40% of the lexical items vary in their pronunciations between [k] and [ch]. The unchanged items in which [ch] is the only form used are almost non-existent.

A comparison of the variable (k) with (q) above (6.2.1.2.3.2.1) shows that the former is far too well ahead of the latter as far as standardization and/or completion of phonetic change is concerned. While the vast majority of the (q)—containing lexical items are in their variable stage (76%), they are in their changed stage (60%) in the case of (k). It is very difficult to find a plausible explanation for the differential behaviour of both variables in this respect. Probably the main reason for the advancement of the changed stage in the case of (k) is due to the social stigma of the variant [ch]. As [ch] is often stigmatized, stereotyped and ridiculed, its recession and shrinkage in the face of the standard or prestigious variant [k] is very much expected. Of strongly equal significance is the fact that the variant [k] is already present in the immigrants' original phonemic inventory unlike [q and ?] which have to be acquired from the standard and the local vernacular respectively. Standardization in the case of (k) can thus be faster and greater than that of (q).

6.2.2.2.3.2 The Variable (k) and Frequency

As the majority of the lexical items are in their changed stage of lexical diffusion, the analysis to be presented below will be based on those words in the variable stage only. This procedure was taken in order not to skew the results with mostly changed lexical data. The results obtained for the extent of sound change on (k) by frequency with respect to the variable stage are given in Table 6.17 below.

Table 6.17 Percentages for Sound Change on (k) by Frequency for Variable Items in Conversational Speech

Frequency Group	% of [k] pronunciation	No. & total
2-10	65.23	(272/417)
11-50	43.78	(359/820)
51-100	55.55	(300/540)
Over 100	50.00	(357/714)
Total	51.70	(1288/2491)

Table 6.17 shows that for the variable lexical items, although these exhibit no consistent pattern, it can still be seen that the least frequent items favour the changed pronunciation with [k] the most often of all.

It is not clear how much the above figures summarized in Table 6.17 are representative of the variable (k) as a whole. There are two things that might lend credibility to the above figures. First, the tendency of the least frequent items to change more often than the most frequent ones has already been encountered in a similar analysis for the variable (q) (6.2.1.2.3.2.2). The second evidence might be arrived at by comparing our data with the historical record of pre-immigrant speech (Cantineau 1936:31-33). Cantineau made a list of 27 words whose pronunciations were categorically affricated. Checking this word list against our data, the following categories can be distinguished:

- (i) four words were not attested in the data. These were /di:ch/ 'cock', /bachchi:re/ 'young cow', /sichan/ 'ashes', and /jirtachi:/ 'to lean'.
- (ii) six words were attested with [ch] all the time. These were /2inch/ 'jaw', /chatif/ 'shoulder', /chabde/ 'liver', /chilwa/ 'kidney', /chabsh/ 'ram', and /ba:iche/ 'animals' house. The last word is of Turkish origin. All these words had a frequency range of 2-6.
- (iii) four words were attested with [k] all the time. These were /charshe/ 'stomach',

/ch3a:b/ 'ankles', /sichche/ 'a tool used for ploughing; railway', and /chili:le/ 'wreath'. Their frequency range was 1–2.

(iv) the majority of words (13 in number) occurred variably with an alternation of [k – ch] pronunciations and whose frequency range was 4–313. These words were the following:

/irchib/ 'he rode' (f = 4)

/chaff/ 'hand palm' (f = 6)

/ma:chil/ 'having eaten' (f = 9)

/chalb/ 'dog' (f = 16)

/biche/ 'he wept' (f = 23)

/ba(l/r)chi:/ 'maybe' (f = 34)

/cham/ 'how much/many' (f = 48)

/ba:chir/ 'tomorrow' (f = 54)

/2iche/ 'he talked' (f = 71)

/chibi:r/ 'big' (f = 76)

/che:f/ 'how' (f = 108)

/chithi:r/ 'much/many' (f = 175)

/hi:ch/ 'so' (f = 313)

Now of this fourth group, the least frequent items (f = 4–10), which include three items, have a higher percentage of ch-less (i.e. standard) pronunciations (52.64%) than the most frequent item (41%). The intermediate frequency groups are not consistent where the 11–50 and 51–100 frequency groups, although they have a lower percentage of [k]–pronunciations (38.01 and 40.79% each) than the least frequent ones, still have a lower frequency than the 101–200 group (59.01%) which should be otherwise.

6.2.2.2.3.3. Summary

The main points of the linguistic analysis of the variable (k) can be summarized as follows:

(i) The alternation between the standard variant [k] and the stigmatized variant [ch] is neither phonetically nor syntactically conditioned.

(ii) The phonetic variation between the above two variants is, alternatively, lexically conditioned. That is, the same word might be pronounced with both variants simultaneously such as /kɪnt – ʧɪnt/ 'I was', /kɑ:n – ʧɑ:n/ 'he was', etc. The lexical analysis has also shown that the majority of the words are changed (60%) with the rest being mainly variable (39%) while an insignificant proportion of the data (1%) is still unchanged. This leads us to the conclusion that the variable (k) will be completely standardised before too long.

(iii) Through a limited frequency analysis of the variable items only, it has been found that the least frequent items favoured the standard pronunciation more than the most frequent ones. This conclusion has to be accepted with caution due to inconsistencies in the frequency groups' patterns.

6.2.3 The Morphophonemic Variable (–k)

6.2.3.1 Review of the Influence of the Linguistic Context and Grammatical Variables

The study of the effect of the linguistic context on the choice of a particular variant of some variable is not confined to phonetic or phonological variables. Morphological and syntactic variables are also subject to the same environmental constraints (e.g. Romaine 1982a:ch.6; Cheshire 1982:31–71). To give one example, the negative marker (ain't) in Reading English is a case in point. Ain't functions in three separate ways as follows (Cheshire: 1982:51):

- (i) as the present tense negative form of auxiliary BE. E.g. How come that ain't working? (i.e. Ain't = aux. BE + not)
- (ii) as the present tense negative form of the BE copula. E.g. you ain't no boss. (i.e. Ain't = copula BE + not)
- (iii) and as the present tense negative form of auxiliary HAVE. E.g. I ain't got one single flea in my hair, they're all married. (i.e. Ain't = aux. HAVE + not)

Cheshire (1982:53) then calculated the frequency scores of ain't according to its occurrence in two syntactic categories, namely, declarative sentences and tag questions. The results are given in Table 6.18 below.

Table 6.18 Frequency Indices for (Ain't) by Syntactic Category in Reading English

Verb Form	Declarative Sentences	Tag Questions
Auxiliary Have	78.57	95.00
Copula Be	59.83	96.30
Auxiliary Be	60.66	88.89

Source: based on Cheshire 1982:53.

Table 6.18 shows that ain't occurs with consistently higher frequencies in tag questions than in declarative sentences. The Table also shows that ain't occurs most frequently as auxiliary Have and least so as auxiliary Be.

There is hardly any evidence on the effect of the linguistic constraints that operate on syntactic variables in Arabic sociolinguistic studies as almost all of them were concerned with phonetic variables. The only study of which I am aware and which has attempted such an analysis is El-Hassan's (1978) in which the demonstrative system in the speech of 90 all-educated informants from five Arab countries, namely, Egypt, Syria, the Lebanon, Jordan and Palestine was examined. The demonstrative pronoun /haadha/ 'this' [masculine, singular, near] has a number of variants which vary from region to region and are as follows:

A. Standard Form

1. /haadha/ 'the standard or acrolectal form'

B. Vernacular Forms

- 2a. /haad(a)/ colloquial variants: Jordan, Syria, Lebanon

- b. /haaDh(a)/ " " : Jordan, Syria

- c. /haaza/ " " : Egypt, Syria

- d. /da/ " " : Egypt

- e. /dawwat/ " " : Egypt

- f. /dawwan/ " " : Egypt

- g. /haida/ " " : Lebanon

El-Hassan (1978:33) identified three syntactic functions for /haadha/ which were:

(i) one as a pronominal in which the demonstratives 'occur without an accompanying 'definite' noun in the same Noun Phrase (NP)'.

E.g. /haadha kitaabuk/ – /haaDh iktaabak/ 'this is your book'

(ii) one as a determiner in which the demonstratives 'colligate with a definite noun in the same NP and precede this noun'.

E.g. /haadha lkitaabu lak/ – /haaDh liktaab, /?ilak/ 'this book is for you'.

(iii) and finally, as an adjective in which the demonstratives 'colligate with a definite noun in the same NP but, unlike the preceding category, they follow the noun with which they are associated'.

E.g. /?aljawaabu filkitaabi haadha/ – /?iljawaab biliktaab haaDh/ 'the answer is in this book' (lit. book this).

El-Hassan did not specify with which particular syntactic environments these different functions of /haadha/ were associated. His results as far as the Syrian situation (El-Hassan 1978:44) is concerned have shown that the percentage of the standard variant /haadha/ (49.56%) was equal to that of the main non-standard variant /haad(a)/ (47.79%) while those for /haaza/ (1.77%) and /haaD(a) (0.88%) were negligible. Of the three syntactic functions, the pronominal function was favoured (66.37%) over the determiner function (20.35%) and the adjectival function (13.28%).

6.2.3.2 A Linguistic Analysis of Morphophonemic (–k)

6.2.3.2.1 Review

There is no one single sociolinguistic study of Arabic that has thus far treated the morphophoneme /–k/ apart from a casual reference made of it in Abdel-Jawad's (1981) description of Jordanian Arabic in which it was noted that in some varieties of Jordanian Arabic /–k/ can be realized either as [–k] or [–ch] depending on the addressee's sex with the former being used for male sex and the latter for female sex, e.g.

/?abu:k/ 'your (masculine,singular) father'

/?abu:ch/ 'your (feminine, singular) father'

Abdel-Jawad did not study the effect of any linguistic constraints on [–k – –ch]

alternation. He has shown, however, that the non-affricated pronunciation of /-k/ was disfavoured and amounted to 32% out of a total of 187 cases (Abdel-Jawad 1981:295).

6.2.3.2.2 (-k) in This Study

In this study, the variation between the two variants of the second person feminine suffixed pronoun, namely the standard form [-k] and its stigmatized reflex [-ch], in the immigrants' conversational speech has been found to be subject to no phonetic, grammatical, or lexical constraints of any kind. The following cases are exemplary of this situation.

/ʔabu:ch/ – /ʔabu:ki:/ 'your (feminine, singular) father'

/sala:mich/ – /sala:mik/ 'your (feminine, singular) greeting'

/kta:bich/ – /kta:bik/ 'your (feminine,singular) book'

/ʔismich/ – /ʔismik/ 'your (feminine, singular) name'

/be:tich/ – /be:tik/ 'your (feminine, singular) house',

etc.

In his description of pre-immigrant speech, Cantineau (1936:33, etc.) remarked that the use of the affricated feminine suffixed pronoun was categorial. Although the examples given above show clearly that the affricated and non-affricated pronunciations are in alternation with each other at the lexical level, this is still linguistically unconditioned. The sole factor that is responsible for this is stylistic. In other words, the affricated pronunciation was categorically used amongst immigrants talking with one another while the non-affricated form was used amongst immigrants in their conversations with the locals. The details of this will be given in Chapter 8 (8.3).

6.2.3.2.2.3 Summary

The alternation between [-k] and [-ch] of the morphophoneme (-k) is linguistically unconditioned. That is, there are no phonetic, syntactic, or lexical factors that govern their variation.

6.2.4 The Variable (J)

6.2.4.1 Review

There are two qualitative linguistic analyses of the variable (J) in sociolinguistic studies of Arabic, namely, one in Bahrain Arabic (Holes 1981:172–77; 1983:452–56) and another in Qatari Arabic (Al–Amadihi 1985:159–65). These will be considered one by one below.

In Bahraini Arabic, Holes proposed to handle the variation between the standard (also Shii) variant [j] and the stigmatized (also Sunni) variant [y] via two methods: one lexical and one phonological. The lexical method accounts for the majority of the data and rests on two grounds (Holes 1983:453) which are:

- (i) segments often change in bundles. For instance, the phonetic change from [y] in the colloquial word /yim3a/ to [j] in the standard word /jum3a/ 'Friday' is also accompanied by another simultaneous process which is the change of [i] to [u]; and
- (ii) absence of hybrid or medial forms. For example, in the change from the vernacular form /yim3a/ to the standard one /jum3a/ no medial forms of the type /*yum3a/ or /*jim3a/ were attested.

The lexical method or hypothesis as he calls it implies that words such as /jum3a/ and /yim3a/, although they mean the same thing 'Friday', are formally phonologically or derivationally unrelated and have to be learnt separately depending on situation. As he (1983:454) puts it:

... this kind of variation suggests an alternative hypothesis: the lexical hypothesis. This would involve the postulation of a more complex lexicon, but, we believe, it is more consonant with the way non–dialectal forms are learnt. According to this hypothesis ... the semantic equivalents are formally superficially similar – like /yim3a/ and /jum3a/. They mean the 'same' referentially but are kept apart formally because of their different and mutually exclusive social meaning: /yim3a/ is domestic, intimate, dialectal whereas /jum3a/ is official, public, standard.

As for the phonological method, it applies to those cases in which one segment is involved (Holes 1981:177; 1983:456). The following examples illustrate this point.

/ya:hil/ – /ja:hil/ 'ignorant'

/ya:b/ – /ja:b/ 'he brought'

In all of these words, the change in both forms of each lexical item involves variation between the segments [y] and [j] only. No other phonetic changes are accompanied.

The lexical hypothesis has been severely criticized and rejected by al-Amadihi (1985:159–65) on a number of grounds as follows. First, Al-Amadihi (1985:163) gave evidence on the existence of hybrid and medial forms. For example, the word /jadi:d/ 'new' can be realized as /jadi:d/ in the standard, /yidi:d/ in the vernacular, and /jadi:d/ as a hybrid form. Al-Amadihi also noted that medial forms are the exception rather than the rule and, therefore, it is not sound to make generalizations from such exceptional cases. Secondly, Al-Amadihi argued in favour of treating such words as /jum3a/ – /yim3a/ 'Friday', /jidi:d/ – /yidi:d/ 'new', etc., as related not only semantically on the basis of the sameness of their meanings but also phonologically where one form is ultimately derived from the other and not separated from each other as Holes contended above. On the basis of these two criteria, Al-Amadihi suggested the phonological hypothesis as an alternative to Holes's lexical hypothesis. According to the phonological hypothesis, the words /jom3a/ and /yim3a/ 'Friday' would be related to each other via the following rules (Al-Amadihi 1985:165):

- a. 1. (J) – [j] Circle 1 as in /jom3a/ 'Friday'
- 2. (O) – [o]
- b. 3. (j) – [y] Circle 2 as in /yim3a/
- 4. [o] – [i]

Thus speakers would use circle 1 to produce the standard form /jom3a/ and circle two to produce the vernacular form /yim3a/. No hybrid form exists for /jom3a/ in Qatari Arabic.

Although Al-Amadihi's analysis is an improvement on Holes's, both suffer on many counts. Holes's treatment of the data via two methods at the same time is unjustified at least from a theoretical viewpoint. The fact that features change in group rather than singly is not in itself enough as a justification for the lexical hypothesis. Many of the simultaneously changing features that often accompany one another such as [u] and [j] in the word /jum3a/ above are not confined to it alone but apply over a wide variety of

contexts and this is sufficient to make of them variables in their own right. In my data, /u/ becomes /i/ quite regularly and not after or next to /j/ only as in the following examples:

/jum3a/ – /zhim3a/ 'Friday'

/8urfa/ – /8irfe/ 'room'

/xubz/ – /xibz/ 'bread'

/2urr/ – /2irr/ 'free'

/murr/ – /mirr/ 'bitter'

/kurr/ – /kirr/ 'young donkey', etc.

Secondly, what Holes (1983:456) called a 'classically phonological' alternation between the variants [j] and [y] in words such as /ja:b/ – /ya:b/ above is not true. This variation is not phonological since in both /ja:b/ and /ya:b/ [j] and [y] both occur before the same phonetic context /-a:/. This is, alternatively, a classic case of lexical conditioning or diffusion per se.

Although Al-Amadihi's phonological hypothesis succeeds in relating forms such as /jum3a/ and /yim3a/ to each other both semantically and phonologically, it falls short of explaining variation in the data. It does not, for instance, specify in which phonetic environments [j] is preferred to [y]. Moreover, Al-Amadihi's examples do not support his phonological hypothesis either. The variation between [j] and [y] in the words /jidi:d/ – /yidi:d/, etc. 'new' is lexically diffused rather than phonologically constrained since both variants come before the same phonetic context /-i/.

6.2.4.2 Analyzing (J) in This Study

6.2.4.2.1 Phonetic and Syntactic Constraints

In the immigrant data /J/ has two variants: a standard variant [j] and a vernacular one [zh]. The alternation between these variants is phonetically and syntactically unconditioned. The following examples illustrate this point.

/yiji:/ – /yizhi:/ 'he comes – verb'

/jibt/ – /zhibt/ 'I brought – verb'

/ji:ra:n/ – /zhi:ra:n/ 'neighbours – noun'

/jne:ne/ – /zhne:ne/ 'garden – noun'
 /j(u/i)m3a/ – /zh(u/i)m3a/ 'Friday – noun'
 /jabir/ – /zhabir/ 'proper name – noun', etc.

In all of these lexical items, [j] and [zh] can occur before the same phonetic environments and also apply to the same syntactic categories.

An alternative explanation for variation in the above examples is through lexical diffusion where the same word can have the two pronunciations at a time irrespective of their immediate phonetic contexts, etc. A quantitative analysis of the whole data from the lexical diffusion viewpoint is given in the next section.

6.2.4.2.2 (J) and Lexical Diffusion

6.2.4.2.2.1 Stages of Lexical Diffusion

The percentage scores for (J) by stage of lexical diffusion are shown in Table 6.19 below.

Table 6.19 Percentages for (J) by Stage of Lexical Diffusion in Conversational Styles

<u>Stage</u>	<u>No. & % of (j)</u>
Unchanged	(733) 18.32
Variable	(3154) 78.83
Changed	(114) 2.85
Total	(4001) 100.00

Table 6.19 shows that the vast majority of lexical items vary their pronunciations between [j] and [zh]. Unchanged words in whose pronunciations [j] is maintained all the time amount to 18% of the data while changed words with [zh] pronunciations only are negligible (about 3%).

Thus lexical diffusion provides a satisfactory and adequate model for explaining linguistic variation in the data. The extent of lexical diffusion on (J) resembles that of the variable (q) very, very closely (6.2.1.2.3.2.1).

6.2.4.2.2.2 The Variable (J) and Frequency

In order to see the scope of linguistic change in the data – i.e. [zh]–use, Table 6.20 gives the percentages for these [zh]–pronunciations by frequency group.

Table 6.20 Percentages for Sound Change on (J) by Frequency Group in Conversational Styles

Frequency Group	% of [zh] form	No. and total
0-1	23.72	(51/215)
2-10	25.22	(252/999)
11-50	22.10	(367/1660)
51-100	26.60	(150/564)
Over 100	23.80	(134/563)
Total	23.84	(954/4001)

Table 6.20 shows that the [zh]–form is not only disfavoured but also virtually the same for all frequency groups. In other words, all the lexical items of whatever frequency group they belong to greatly favour the casual pronunciations with [j].

Al–Amadihi (1985:265–67) reached a similar conclusion and noted that the most frequent words favoured casual or non–standard pronunciations. He illustrated this with reference to only three of the most frequent items in his data. These were (Al–Amadihi 1985:267):

Word	[j]%	[zh]%	[y]%	No.
/wa:j(i)d(i:n)/ 'many'	1.00	12.50	86.50	192
/ja:i/ 'coming'	15.00	17.00	65.00	170
/ja:?a, ji?t/ 'He/I came'	34.00	17.00	49.00	175

All three words do not favour the standard [j]–pronunciation over the casual and non–standard [zh and y] pronunciations.

The frequency analysis of our immigrant speech data shown in the above Table lends support to the view that regards the most frequent items to be disfavourable to the

linguistic change. But the results do not support the opposite view which considers the least frequent items to favour the linguistic change. A similar analysis has been reached for the variable (q) above (6.2.1.2.3.2.2).

6.2.4.3 Summary

The linguistic analysis of the variable (J) can be summarized as follows:

- (i) The variation between [j] and [zh] is neither phonetically nor syntactically conditioned.
- (ii) the alternation of the two forms above is alternatively lexical. That is, in the majority of cases the same word can fluctuate between [j] and [zh]. The lexical diffusion analysis has shown that the vast majority of the data is variable (78%) while a small portion of it is unchanged (18%) and very few items are changed (3%).
- (iii) As far as frequency and linguistic change are concerned, the least frequent as well as the most frequent items were found not to favour the changed form [zh]. Moreover, all frequency groups behaved alike in this respect.

6.2.5 The Variable (D)

6.2.5.1 Review

Only in Palestinian Arabic (Shorrab 1981:170–74) has the variable (D) been sociolinguistically analyzed. But no linguistic analysis of it has been given.

6.2.5.2 Analyzing (D) in This Study

6.2.5.2.1 Phonetic and Syntactic Constraints

The alternation between the standard form [D] and the non-standard one [Dh] in immigrant speech is governed neither phonetically nor syntactically. The words:

/r(i)ya:Da/ – /r(i)yad:Dha/ 'sport – noun'

/riDa/ – /riDha/ 'satisfaction – noun'

/r(i)ya:Diyya:t/ – /r(i)ya:Dhiyya:t/ 'mathematics – noun'

/biDDabT/ – /biDhDhabT/ 'exactly – adverb'

/Di2k/ – /Dhi2k/ 'laughter – noun'

/Da:3/ – /Dha:3/ 'to lose – verb'

/maraD/ – /maraDh/ 'disease – noun'

/Dimn/ – /Dhimn/ 'within – preposition'

all can have both [D] and [Dh] in their pronunciations, no matter what their phonetic or syntactic status is.

The absence of phonetic and syntactic constraints on the alternation between [D] and [Dh] means that it is lexically conditioned. A full lexical analysis of the data is provided in the following section.

6.2.5.2.2 The Variable (D) and Lexical Diffusion

6.2.5.2.2.1 Stages of Lexical Diffusion

The percentage scores for (D) by stage of lexical diffusion in conversational styles are set out in Table 6.21 below.

Table 6.21 Percentages for (D) by Stage of Lexical Diffusion in Conversational Styles

<u>Stage</u>	<u>No. and % of (D)</u>	
Unchanged	(428)	25.55
Variable	(1204)	71.88
Changed	(43)	2.57
total	(1675)	100.00

Table 6.21 shows that the sweeping majority of words are pronounced variably sometimes with [D] and sometimes with [Dh]. A quarter of the data is still unchanged with [Dh] pronunciations throughout while the changed pronunciations with [D] only are negligible.

Similar results have already been obtained for two variables, namely (q) and (J). In both cases, the variable stage of lexical diffusion amounted to 76% and 79% respectively (6.2.1.2.3.2.1 and 6.2.4.2.2.1).

6.2.5.2.2.2 The Variable (D) and Frequency

The distribution of the changed pronunciation — i.e. [D]—use, by frequency group in conversational speech is given in Table 6.22 below.

Table 6.22 Percentages for Sound Change on (D) by Frequency Group in Conversational Styles

<u>Frequency Group</u>	<u>% of [D] form</u>	<u>No. and Total</u>
0-1	20.20	(21/104)
2-10	21.67	(140/646)
11-50	21.55	(136/631)
51-100	20.34	(12/59)
Over 100	21.70	(51/235)
Total	21.49	(360/1675)

Table 6.22 shows two things. First, the changed [D]–form is disfavoured across all the different frequency groups. Secondly, all frequency groups are the same as far as the proportion of changed pronunciation is concerned. To put it more simply, all the lexical items of whatever frequency they are are undifferentiated in their disavowing of the linguistic change. The same pattern has already been found for the variable (J) (6.2.4.2.2.2).

6.2.5.3 Summary

The main points that have emerged from analyzing the variable (D) linguistically can be summarized as follows:

- (i) The fluctuation between standard [D] and vernacular [Dh] is phonetically and syntactically unconstrained.
- (ii) Variation between the above variants is, alternatively, lexically–constrained where the majority of lexical items are pronounced with [D] and [DH] simultaneously. The unchanged lexical items represent one quarter of the data and the changed ones are negligible.
- (iii) The extent of the changed form – i.e. [D]–use, has been found through frequency analysis to be of the same proportion (about 22%) for all frequency groups. That is, all lexical items of whatever frequency equally disfavour the change.

6.2.6 The Variable (Dh)

6.2.6.1 The Linguistic Status of Interdentals in Arabic

Standard Arabic has three interdental phonemes which are /dh/, a voiced fricative, /th/, a voiceless fricative, and /Dh/, a voiced pharyngealized fricative. In a number of vernaculars all have disappeared completely and were replaced by or split into /d and z/ for /dh/, /t and s/ for /th/, and /D and Z/ for /Dh/. The nature of the split into stops and fricatives is controversial amongst scholars of modern Arabic dialects. One can distinguish two approaches in handling such phonetic split: one dialectological and one sociolinguistic. Probably the first dialectological remark came from Gairdner (1935:31) who noted that the plosive variants first arose to replace the interdentals in vernacular speech whereas the fricative ones in imitation of their standard counterparts. As he (1925:31) puts it:

Arabic interdentals undergo change in the colloquials along two parallel and alternative lines, and became (a) dental-plosives or (b) sibilants. The explanation is probably this:— the true spontaneous change was to dental-plosives; the sibilants being probably the result of an attempt to classicize, i.e. to imitate the interdentals of literary Arabic, on the part of semi-educated people. This explanation is supported by an observation of two constant facts: that, within the same root, the words with sibilant change are less common and more literary than those with plosive change; and that the more countrified the speech the more the former gives way to the latter.

Recent dialectological studies of Arabic dialects such as Damascus Arabic (Ambros 1977:111–12) and Aleppo Arabic (Sabuni 1980:15–16) adopted in general Gairdner's explanation unquestioningly. For instance, Ambros (1977:111–12) defined three criteria for the phonetic split of interdentals into stops and fricatives in Damascus Arabic. These were:

(i) /dh/, /th/, and /Dh/ were first replaced in the vernacular by the stops /d/, /t/ and /D/ respectively. E.g.

/thalj/ — /talzh/ 'snow'

/dhahab/ — /dahab/ 'gold'

/Dhah-hr/ — /Dah-hr/ 'back'

(ii) /dh/, /th/, and /Dh/ were substituted for by the fricatives /z/, /s/ and /Z/ each in classicisms or borrowings from the standard. E.g.

/dharra/ – /zarra/ 'atom'
 /dha:kira/ – /za:kra/ 'memory'
 /tharwa/ – /sarwe/ 'riches, wealth'
 /3aDhi:m/ – /3aZi:m/ 'great'
 /Dhill/ – /Zill/ 'shadow'

(iii) There are words which do not obey rules (i) and (ii) above. Words of the same root – i.e. with related derivatives – many split into those with dental stops and those with alveolar fricatives simultaneously so that their meanings can be kept apart. E.g.

/dhauq/ – /do:ʔ/ 'taste' and /zo:ʔ/ 'politeness'
 /dhakar/ – /dakar/ 'male (of animals)' and /zakar/ 'male (of humans)'
 /mathal/ – /matal/ 'proverb' and /masal/ 'example'
 /2ifDh/ – /2fa:D/ 'draper' and /2ifZ/ 'memorization'

As for the sociolinguistic approach, two studies are worth mentioning, namely, Shorrab's (1981:161–64) study of Palestinian Arabic and Schmidt's (1974:91) study of Egyptian Arabic, quoted in Shorrab above. In both studies, the interdentalals were found to have developed along two lines into two separate rules. The first rule has changed them into dental stops and the second into alveolar fricatives. Shorrab (1981:164) illustrated this development with the following examples from his own study and Schmidt's:–

	Standard Arabic	Egyptian Arabic	Palestinian (Madani) Arabic
a) 1st rule	tha:lith	ta:lit	ta:lit 'third'
2nd rule	"	sa:lis	*sa:lis
b) 1st rule	Dhah-hr	Dah-hr	Dah-hir 'back'
2nd rule	Dhah-hr	Zah-hr	*Zah-hir
c) 1st rule	Dhulm	Dulm	Dulum 'tyranny'
2nd rule	Dhulm	Zulm	Zulum

It can be seen from the above examples that in Egyptian Arabic the dental stops and the alveolar fricatives can operate in every case on the same lexical item. A word like /tha:lith/ can be pronounced with [t] and/or [s]. In Palestinian Arabic the simultaneous

application of the stops and the fricatives to the same item is admissible in c) only whereas in a) and b) use can only be made of either the stops or the fricatives only. Shorrab further noted that the variation between dental stops and alveolar fricatives in Palestinian Arabic is phonetically unconditioned. As he (1981:164) puts it:

It is uncertain what the phonetic environment of the interdentals has to do with the status of the rule. In fact ... there are no phonetic determining factors involved; both the first and second th-rules are unconditioned sound changes.

He further supported his statement with a quotation from Robertson (1970:47) in which he noted that:

... there seems to be no rule as yet for determining which sound will prevail in a given word.

Thus both dialectologists and sociolinguists subscribe to the view that in the alternation between the dental stops and alveolar fricatives of the interdentals there exist no phonetic conditioning factors although the dialectologists did not express this in any outright manner. However, the dialectologists' description of such variation as being subject to the type of the word (i.e. being literary or colloquial) is far from convincing. There are at least two reasons which invalidate their hypothesis. First, the dialectologists did not mention any criteria for their classifications. It is very futile to argue that, e.g. the words /ta:ni:/ 'second' and /sa:nye/ 'a second', etc., are one more literary than the other simply because the second word has an [s] variant while the first a [t] variant. Secondly, what refutes this baseless distinction is the fact that in Egyptian Arabic and, to a lesser extent, in Palestinian Arabic, both variants of a certain interdental variable can apply to the same word as has been shown by the examples cited above.

In the following three sections, we will analyse each of our three interdental variables. Phonetic, syntactic and lexical factors will all be considered separately and quantitatively to see what effect they might have on governing the alternation of the phonetic variants involved.

6.2.6.2 Analyzing (Dh) in This Study

6.2.6.2.1 Phonetic and Syntactic Constraints

In this study /Dh/ has three variants which are [Dh], [Z], and [D]. Phonetic as well as syntactic factors are irrelevant in conditioning their linguistic variation. The following examples make this point clear.

/Dhuh(u)r/ – /Duh(u)r/ 'noon – noun'

/Dhah–h(a)r/ – /Dah–hr/ 'back – noun''

/n(i)Dhi:f/ – /nDi:f/ 'clean – adjective'

/2aDhDh/ – /2aZZ/ 'luck – noun'

/2ifDh/ – /2ifZ/ 'memorization – noun'

/ʔaDhin/ – /ʔaZin/ 'I think – verb'

/3aDhi:m/ – /3aZi:m/ 'great – adjective'

In all these words, [Dh] varies with either [D] or [Z] irrespective of what their phonetic or syntactic environments are. The fact that in each case use can be made of either [D] or [Z] in addition to [Dh] does not imply that [D – Z] alternation is, let us say, phonetically conditioned. There are cases in which all three variants are utilized. The word /Dha:h–hir/ – /Da:h–hir/ – /Za:h–hir/ 'evident, proper name' is such an example.

The alternative solution for the linguistic variation between [Dh], [D] and [Z] is, therefore, lexical. In other words, most items vary their pronunciations between either [Dh] or [D], [Dh] or [Z] or all of them at the same time. A quantitative lexical analysis of the data is given in the next section.

6.2.6.2.2 The Variable (Dh) and Lexical Diffusion

6.2.6.2.2.1 Stages of Lexical Diffusion

The distribution of the three stages of lexical diffusion for the variable (Dh) is given in Table 6.23 below.

Table 6.23 Percentages for (Dh) by Stage of Lexical Diffusion in Covnersational Styles

Stages	No. and % of (Dh)	
Unchanged	(132)	18.75
Variable	(555)	78.84
Changed	(17)	2.41
Total	(704)	100.00

Table 6.23 shows that the largest part of the lexical items are variable with [Dh] varying with either [D] or [Z] or both. Those unchanged items which are pronounced with [Dh] throughout amount to about 18% while changed words with forms like [D] or [Z] are negligible.

These results are in conformity with those that were obtained for three previous variables in this study, namely (q), (J) and (D) of (6.2.1.2.3.2.1), (6.2.4.2.2.1) and (6.2.5.2.2.1) respectively.

6.2.6.2.2.2 The Variable (Dh) and Frequency

The percentage scores for (Dh) by frequency group are shown in Table 6.24. below.

Table 6.24 Percentages for Sound Change on (Dh) by Frequency Group in Conversation Style

Frequency Group	% of changed forms (i.e. [D - Z])	No. & Total
0-1	28.00	(7/25)
2-10	20.63	(46/223)
11-50	29.48	(51/173)
51-100	14.19	(21/148)
Over 100	11.11	(15/135)
Total	19.89	(140/704)

Table 6.24 shows that the changed pronunciation forms [Z and D] are disfavoured across all frequency groups although the most frequent items disfavour this linguistic change oftener than the least frequent ones. This applies in a steadily decreasing order for all frequency groups except for the 11–50 group but this is not important anyway.

The above pattern closely resembles that of the variable (q) above (6.2.1.2.3.2.2) in which it has been found that, although all frequency groups did not favour the changed forms, the most frequent items did so more often than the least frequent ones.

6.2.6.2.2.3 Summary

The results of the linguistic analysis of the variable (Dh) can be summarized as follows:

- (i) The linguistic variation between [Dh], [Z] and [D] is constrained by no syntactic or phonetic factors.
- (ii) Alternatively the fluctuation between the above forms is lexical. The lexical analysis has shown that the greatest portion of the words is variable where [Dh], [Z] and/or [D] can all apply to the same word. The unchanged items were found to account for less than 20% of the data and the changed ones were negligible.
- (iii) Neither the most nor the least frequent items favoured the changed forms although the latter did so slightly less often than the former.

6.2.7 The Variable (dh)

6.2.7.1 Phonetic and Grammatical Constraints

In immigrant speech, /dh/ has three pronunciations: [dh], [z], and [d]. The linguistic variation between these forms depends on no phonetic or grammatical factors. To make this point clear, the following examples are given:

- a) /ʔaxadh/ – /ʔaxad/ 'he took – verb'
 /dhahab/ – /dahab/ 'gold – noun'
 /dhab2/ – /dab2/ 'killing – noun'
- b) /dhikra/ – /zikra/ 'souvenir – noun'
 /kidhb/ – /kizb/ 'lying – noun'
 /kadha/ – /kaza/ 'so – adverb'

- c) /ʔidhn/ – /ʔidin/ 'ear – noun' – /ʔizin/ 'permission – noun'
 /dhauq/ – /do:ʔ/ 'taste – noun' – /zo:ʔ/ 'politeness – noun'
 /dhahab/ – /dahab/ 'gold – noun' – /zahab/ 'he went – verb'

In a) and b) [dh] varies with [d] and [z] respectively although in each case the variants apply to the same linguistic environment. In c) [dh] alternates with both [d] and [z] simultaneously. Further, one can notice in c) that the use of either [d] or [z] (but not [dh]) depends on the meaning imparted.

The fact that in a) and b) the variants [z] and [d] occur in different phonetic environments does in no way mean that they are phonetically conditioned. These words are not exhaustive and are given to serve merely as examples and there are many cases in the data in which [z] and [d] (as well as [dh] as a matter of fact) were applied to the same word with the same meaning. The word /ha:(dh/d/z)a/ 'this' is a case in point.

The variation between [dh], [z], and [d] is, therefore, lexically conditioned where any lexical item can generally have two or more pronunciations as is shown in the examples above. In the next section a quantified lexical analysis of the whole data is provided.

6.2.7.2 The Variable (dh) and Lexical Diffusion

6.2.7.2.1 Stages of Lexical Diffusion

The percentage scores for (dh) by stage of lexical diffusion in conversational speech are shown in Table 6.25 below.

Table 6.25 Percnetages for (dh) by Stage of Lexical Diffusion in Conversational Speech

Stage	No. & % of (dh)
Unchanged	(272) 15.08
Variable	(1458) 80.82
Changed	(74) 4.10
Total	(1804) 100.00

Table 6.25 shows that the largest population of the words containing the variable (dh) are variable. That is, their pronunciations show two or more forms with [dh], [z] and/or

[d]. Only 15% of the data is still unchanged and these are pronounced with [dh] throughout. The percentage of changed words is insignificant and amounts to 4% only.

The spread of lexical diffusion for this variable conforms to the pattern which has already been obtained for (Dh) above as well as to the patterns thus far had for all other variables in this study.

6.2.7.2.2 The Variable (dh) and Frequency

The percentage scores for (dh) by frequency are shown in Table 6.26 below.

Table 6.26 Percentages for Sound Change on (dh) by Frequency in Conversational Styles

Frequency Group	% of Changed forms with [z and d]	No. & total
0-1	12.16	(9/74)
2-10	24.19	(67/277)
11-50	24.33	(82/337)
51-100	21.47	(35/163)
101-200	40.31	(181/449)
Over 200	17.06	(86/504)
Total	25.50	(460/1804)

Table 6.26 shows that the changed pronunciation forms [z and d] are not favoured across all frequency groups. The frequency pattern, it has to be noted, is inconsistent, however. First it can be seen that the most frequent and the least frequent words disfavour the change more or less to the same extent, but secondly, the intermediate frequency groups, especially the 101–200 frequency group, do so less often which should be otherwise. A close examination of the deviant behaviour of the frequency group 101–200 shows that it is no different from the others in general. All in all there occurred only three words in this group, two of which did not differ from the other ones and for which the percentage of changed forms was 16%. Only one word /ʔidhe/ 'if' which occurred 199 times favoured the changed form /ʔize/ greatly (70.85%). Apart from

this minor exception, the frequency pattern regularity as to the similarity amongst all frequency groups in their tendency towards disfavouring the changed forms is clear.

Exceptions apart, the variable (dh) bears closer resemblance to the variables (J) of (6.2.4.2.2.2) and (D) of (6.2.5.2.2.2) above in which all frequency groups were also undifferentiated or alike with respect to their disfavouring of the changed forms.

6.2.7.3 Summary

The main points of the linguistic analysis of the variable (dh) can be summed up as follows.

- (i) The influence of phonetic and syntactic constraints on the alternation between [dh], [z] and [d] is absent.
- (ii) The linguistic variation between the above forms is lexical. In other words, words may vary their pronunciations between two or more forms. The linguistic analysis has shown that the largest proportion of the data occurs variably, some 15% of the words still unchanged and only 4% changed.
- (iii) The frequency analysis has shown that, deviations apart, all frequency groups are more or less alike in disfavouring the changed forms especially the least and most frequent lexical items.

6.2.8 The Variable (th)

6.2.8.1 Phonetic and Syntactic Constraints

Like the two previous interdental variables, /th/ has three variants in immigrant speech: [th], [s] and [t]. The alternation between these phonetic variants is governed by no phonetic or syntactic rules. Here are a few examples to illustrate this point:

- a) /tha:ni/ – /ta:ni:/ 'second – adjective'
/thne:n/ – /tne:n/ 'two – noun'
/tha:min/ – /ta:min/ 'eighth – adjective'
/thaqi:l/ – /tʔi:l/ 'heavy – adjective'
/tho:b/ – /to:b/ 'robe – noun'
- b) /thumma/ – /summa/ 'then – adverb'
/ba3th/ – /ba3s/ 'resurrection – noun'

- /thabat/ – /sabat/ 'to get fixed – verb'
- /mumaththil/ – mumassil/ 'actor – noun'
- c) /mathalan/ – /masalan/ – /matalan/ 'for example – adverb'
- /mithil/ – /mitil/ – /misil/ 'like – adverb'
- /mathal / – /matal/ – /masal/ 'proverb– noun'

In a) and b) [th] varies with [t] and [s] respectively. In each case the variants involved occur next to the same phonetic context, etc. In c) [th, t, and s] all apply to the same lexical item whatever the linguistic environment in each is.

A proper explanation for such linguistic variation is via lexical diffusion where, as in the examples above, words may have two or more variants without any obvious phonetic or syntactic reasons for them to do so. In the next section, a detailed lexical analysis of the whole corpus of speech data containing the variable (th) is provided.

6.2.8.2 The Variable (th) and Lexical Diffusion

6.2.8.2.1 Stages of Lexical Diffusion

The distribution of the three stages of lexical diffusion for the variable (th) in conversational speech is shown in Table 6.27 below.

Table 6.27 Percentages for (th) by Stage of Lexical Diffusion in Conversational Styles

Stage	No. & % of (th)	
Unchanged	(181)	11.46
Variable	(1377)	87.21
Changed	(21)	1.33
Total	(1579)	100.00

Table 6.27 shows that about 90% of the lexical items vary their pronunciations between [th] and [t] and/or [s]. About 10% of the words are still unchanged – i.e. pronounced with [th] only. Finally, lexical items with totally changed pronunciation forms with [t] and/or [s] are virtually nil.

The extent of the spread of lexical diffusion for the variable (th) is quite similar to the ones obtained for almost all of the previous variables such as (dh), (q), and so on. For all such variables, the variable stage of lexical diffusion accounted for the vast majority of the words whose pronunciations alternated between at least two forms without any phonetic or syntactic constraints.

6.2.8.2.2 The Variable (th) and Frequency

The percentage scores for the variable (th) by frequency in conversational speech are given in Table 6.28 below.

Table 6.28 Percentages for Sound Change on (th) by Frequency in Conversational Speech

Frequency Group	% of changed forms [t and s]	No. & Total
0-1	7.70	(4/52)
2-10	25.19	(66/262)
11-50	31.90	(59/185)
51-100	27.08	(62/229)
101-200	31/40	(200/637)
Over 200	22.90	(49/214)
Total	27.86	(440/1579)

Table 6.28 shows that across all frequency groups the use of the changed forms [t and s] are disfavoured. However, the most frequent items disfavour them less often than the least frequent ones. All frequency groups starting from frequency group 2-10 upwards are more or less alike in this regard.

This is the only variable in this study for which the least frequent items turn out to be pronounced slightly more casually than the most frequent ones. No general conclusions can be drawn from this pattern because all items of all frequencies greatly disfavour the change, though with some differences in between. And also the pattern is similar in its

general outline to almost all of the previous variables for most of which the change was not favoured at all.

6.2.8.3 Summary

The linguistic analysis of the variable (th) can be summed up as follows:

- (i) Phonetic and syntactic constraints on the alternation between the variants [th], [t], and [s] are irrelevant.
- (ii) The linguistic variation between the above variants has been found to be lexical. The lexical analysis has shown that the vast majority of the data is variable, about 10% of the words are still unchanged and hardly any words changed (1%).
- (iii) The frequency analysis has revealed that the changed forms [t and s] are disfavoured across all frequency groups although the least frequent items did so more often than the most frequent ones.

6.3 Conclusions

At the end of this chapter it is worthwhile to pull its strands together and give a general summary for the main conclusions that have been arrived at in the course of the linguistic analysis of the eight variables in immigrant speech. These points can be summarized as follows.

The main conclusion arrived at was that internal linguistic factors are essential to and can play an important role in conditioning language variation as manifested in the choice of some variant(s) of a given variable. The investigation of the effect of the linguistic environment in this connection can be briefly summarized as follows:

- (a) Phonetic and syntactic constraints have not been found to be pertinent in conditioning linguistic variation for all the eight variables of this study.
- (b) Alternatively, linguistic variation for all these variables except for the morphophonemic variable (-k) was lexically constrained in the manner described for lexical diffusion (Wang 1969; 1977; 1979, etc.). According to lexical diffusion, linguistic change spreads through the lexicon (i.e. words) in a way in which lexical items are differently affected and can be one of three types: (i) unchanged, (ii) variable where words can vary their pronunciations between two or more forms simultaneously, and (iii)

changed. The quantitative lexical analysis of the seven phonetic variables in this study has shown that for six of them the variable stage of lexical diffusion accounted for the vast majority of the data (over 70% at least) the unchanged stage for a small portion of the lexical items (ranging between 11% and 20%) and the changed stage was negligible for all variables. Only the variable (k) did not fit in with this general picture; the changed lexical items outnumbered the variable ones.

(c) The frequency analysis of the spread of lexical diffusion in the speech data has shown that for all the linguistic variables except for (k) neither the most frequent items nor the least frequent ones favoured the changes. However, there were slight differences amongst the variables in this matter and these were:

- (i) For the variables (q) and (Dh), the least frequent items tended to be pronounced casually less often than the most frequent ones.
- (ii) For (J), (D), and (dh), lexical items of all frequency groups were the same in disavouring changed pronunciations.
- (iii) The variable (th) was the only single case in this study in which the least frequent items were pronounced the most casually of all items of all other frequency groups.

The variable (k) was the only exception in which lexical items of all frequency groups favoured the change in general and in which the least frequent ones did so more often than the most frequent ones.

Chapter Seven

A Sociolinguistic Analysis of the Phonological Variable (q): Non-correction, Correction and Discorrection

7.0 Introduction

In this and the following two chapters, we will be concerned with the description and analysis of the intersection of social parameters, speech styles and linguistic variables in the speech of 38 immigrant subjects. There are four social parameters, namely, educational group, sex, age and area, and four speech styles which are (i) immigrant-to-immigrant style (IIS), (ii) immigrant-to-local style (ILS), (iii) word list style (WLS) and/or (iv) Quranic recitation style (QRS).

In addition to the above 38 immigrant subjects, who form the main sample of this study, reference will be made from time to time to nine local informants for comparative purposes only. All of these local informants are university-educated. As all of these local informants were recorded in one speech encounter, i.e. the immigrant-to-local encounter, reference to their speech behaviour will be made in ILS only.

The rest of this chapter will be devoted to a close sociolinguistic investigation of the phonological variable (q). Through this variable which is realized differently in each of the three dialects involved in this study – i.e. as [q] in Standard Arabic (SA), [ʔ] in Damascus Arabic (DA), and as [g] or [j] in immigrant Golan Fadi Arabic (IGFA), it will be possible to show how the mixture of these variants or dialects in immigrant speech can be subject to certain social and stylistic constraints. It will also be possible to see how as a result of dialect contact between immigrant speech, local speech, and standard speech, especially between the former two varieties, the immigrants in their daily communications, particularly with DA or local speakers, maintain and shift their speech towards the latter's dialect. The investigation of style shifting by the immigrants will also enable us to see the role of the standard in this matter and how it competes with the two vernaculars. Such a tri-dialectal contact situation involves various sorts of correction: it shows how a

non-correct or non-standard dialect (i.e. IGFA) is involved in a linguistic change in the direction of (i) the standard (standardization and correction) and (ii) the local non-standard vernacular (destandardization and discorrection) as well. Hence the secondary name of this chapter.

This last point is particularly interesting since almost all the sociolinguistic literature in the variable paradigm (e.g. Labov 1972a; Trudgill 1974; L. Milroy 1980; Cheshire 1982, etc.) described a situation in which linguistic variation occurs along the dimension of one standard, one vernacular, and in which most language shifts then occur in the direction of the standard. Our data from this and other variables will at least show that this need not always be so.

Finally, the role and effect of the addressee in linguistic variation which previous immigrant studies (Payne 1976, 1980; Bortoni-Ricardo 1985; Kerswill 1985) have ignored altogether will be highlighted. In fact, it will be shown that, without allowing for this very important sociolinguistic factor, a great deal of information would be lost in this study.

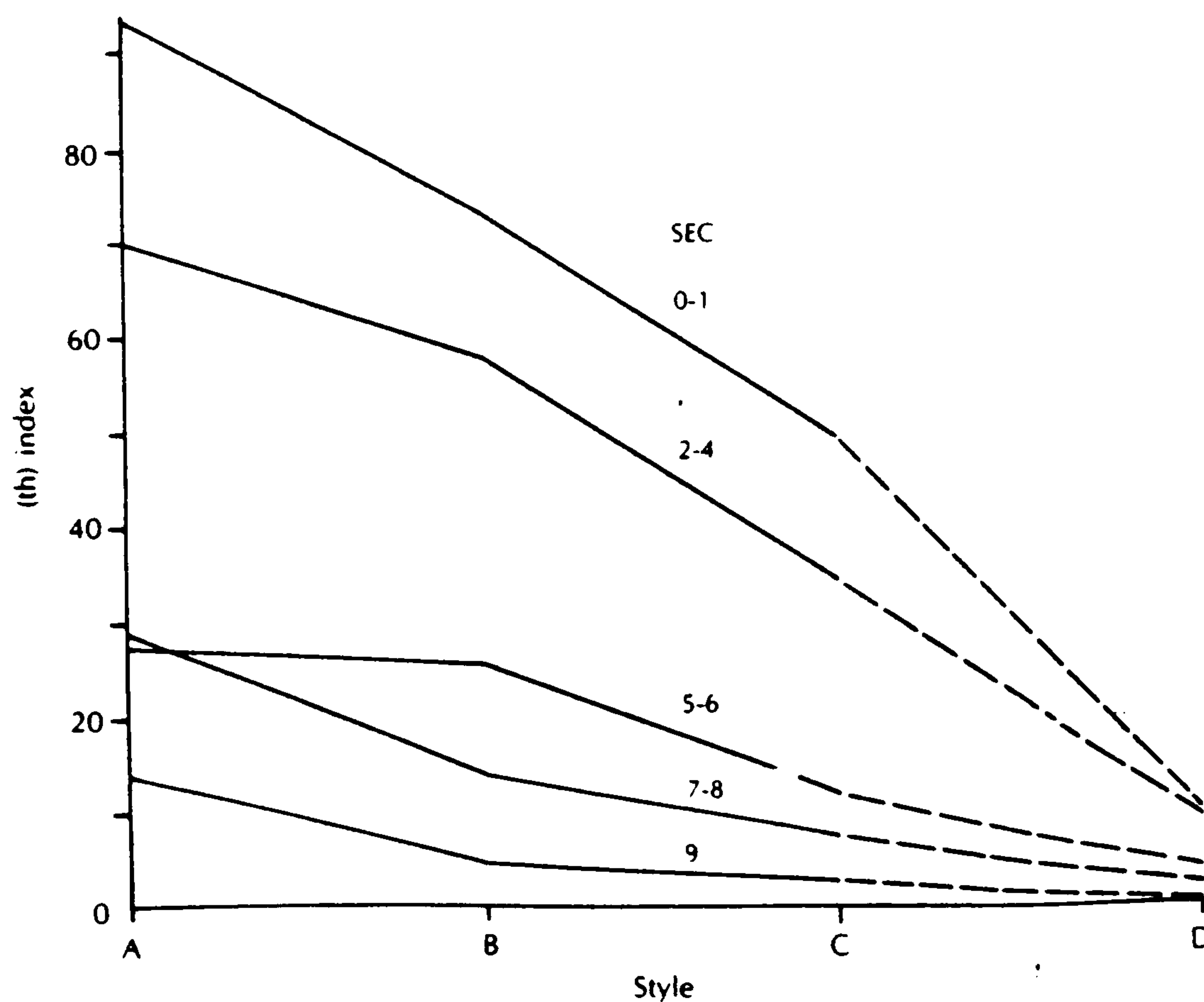
7.1 Introducing Some Sociolinguistic Patterns of Speech: A Rapid Review

It is virtually impossible to arrive at a reduced, general set of sociolinguistic patterns for the description of linguistic variation (cf. Bell 1984). Since Labov's (1966, 1972a) pioneering study of New York City, many studies both in the English-speaking world and elsewhere have been inspired by his model. The discovered sociolinguistic patterns vary from study to another and from variable to variable within the same study. It is beyond the scope of this work to review even some of these studies here and the interested reader is referred to the following three sociolinguistic introductions (Dittmar 1976; Hudson 1980; Wardhaugh 1986) for a wider survey. What I will be doing meanwhile is to give two examples: one from the New York City study and one from the Norwich study. The purpose is to illustrate the reflection of social processes and their role in language use or, in other words, the interplay of language and society.

In his study of American English in New York City, Labov (1966, 1972a) isolated five phonological variables and showed how linguistic variation can intersect with social and

stylistic variation. For instance, the phoneme /th/, a voiceless interdental fricative, as in thing, through, has three phonetic realizations in New York City (Labov 1972a:78) which are [th], an affricate [t-th], and a voiceless dental stop [t]. The first variant [th] is associated with standard English whereas [t] and, to a lesser extent, [t-th] are associated with non-standard English. These three variants can appear variably in anyone person's speech. However, the proportion of these variants vary from individual to individual or from social class to social class and also from one speech situation or style to another. Labov defined five social classes on the basis of education, occupation and income and four speech styles arranged from the least to the most formal according to the amount of attention paid to speech. Figure 7.1 shows the percentage index scores for (th) by socioeconomic class and style.

Figure 7.1 The Variable (th) by class and style in New York City



Key: SEC = socioeconomic class; 0–1 = lower working class; 2–4 (upper) working class; 5–6 = lower middle class; 7–8 middle middle class; 9 = upper middle class; A = casual style; B = careful style; C = reading style; D = word list style.

(Source: Labov 1972a: 113, also 124)

It can be seen from Figure 7.1 that the usage of the variable (th) varies by social class and speech style. As far as social stratification is concerned, one can notice that the lower the socioeconomic status, the higher the incidence of nonstandard variants and vice versa. It is also clearly seen that the social continuum splits largely into two larger groupings: the working class (WC) 0–4, on the one hand, and the middle class (MC) 5–9, on the other. The gap is greatest in casual speech (about 40%) and least in word list style (about 8%). Within each of these groupings, the differences between classes are not very big. For example, in casual speech the lower working class is separated by 22% from the upper working class while the lower middle class is not separated at all from the middle middle class both of which are separated by about 10% from the upper middle class.

As for stylistic variation, two points can be noted. First, the occurrence of the standard feature is lower in casual than in careful speech and higher in word list style than in reading style. In general reading styles – i.e. including word list style and reading style, favour the standard form much more than conversational styles – i.e. casual speech and careful speech. Secondly, the working class shift styles more than the middle class. In particular, the lower working class shift the most and the upper middle class the least. For instance, there is a shift of about 75% between casual speech and word list for the lower working class as opposed to only 12% for the upper middle class.

Similar patterns have emerged from Trudgill's (1974) study of Norwich, England. One such pattern is the variable (ng). This phoneme as in sing, ring, thing, etc., can have two pronunciations in Norwich English, one as a velar nasal and one as an alveolar nasal with the former being the standard form and the latter the vernacular one. Trudgill distinguished five socioeconomic classes defined by such factors as occupation, education, income, etc., and four speech styles. The covariation of (ng) with social class and speech

style is given in Table 7.1 below.

Table 7.1 Index Scores for (ng) by Class and Style in Norwich, England

	Styles			
	WLS	RPS	FS	CS
MMC	000	000	003	028
LMC	000	010	015	042
UWC	005	015	074	087
MWC	023	044	088	095
LWC	029	066	098	100

Key: WLS = word list style; RPS = reading passage style; FS = formal speech; CS = casual speech; MMC = middle middle class; LMC = lower middle class; UWC = upper working class; MWC = middle working class; LWC = lower working class.

(Source: Trudgill 1974:92)

Table 7.1 shows a clear pattern of social differentiation and stylistic stratification. With respect to social variation, it can be noticed that the higher the social status the greater the use of the standard form and vice versa. The social continuum is clearly divided into two larger classes: the working class (WC), on the one side, and the middle class (MC), on the other. These two classes are separated by a gap of 45% in CS and 59% in FS. This gap is far much smaller within each class. For instance, in CS and FS the MMC is separated from the LMC by about 14% while the UWC is separated by 8% and 13% in CS from the MWC and LWC respectively.

Regarding stylistic variation, it can be noticed that the more formal the speech situation is, the greater the frequency of the standard variant becomes. That is why WLS and CS are the opposite extremes of each other. In general, reading styles favour the occurrence of the standard feature much more often than conversational styles. Also the extent of style shift varies from one class to another although all social groups participate in it. Generally speaking, the WC as a whole shift styles more frequently than the MC.

The highest-ranking group shifts the least while the UWC shifts the most.

Thus Trudgill's study, at least as far as the variable (ng) is concerned, confirms and supports Labov's (1966, 1972a) findings for New York City as to the intersection of social and stylistic factors and linguistic variables. The variables (th) and (ng) have many points in common. First, both are involved in linguistic variation that is associated with marker variables which show both social and stylistic differentiation (Labov 1972a:237). Secondly, this linguistic variation occurs along the continuum of one standard as opposed to one vernacular and consequently the change or style shift occurs in the direction of the standard. Thirdly, both (ng) and (th) show a normal and regular pattern of social and stylistic variation where all social classes are stratified in the usual manner and style shift takes place in the right direction. (We will have many opportunities in the course of this study to come across irregular patterns both of class and style.)

7.2 A Sociolinguistic Analysis of the Variable (q)

7.2.1 The Social Parameter of Education

7.2.1.1 Introduction

The phonological variable (q) is of an extreme sociolinguistic importance in modern Arabic dialects. This claim can at least be substantiated by its treatment and selection in every sociolinguistic study that handled phonological variation in Arabic (Schmidt 1974; Sallam 1980; Holes 1980, 1983; Abdel-Jawad 1981; Shorrab 1981; and al-Amadihi 1985). In all such studies correlations were made between the use of (q) and a number of social parameters such as educational group, social group or origin, sex, etc. as well as stylistic levels. For our purposes here, it suffices to mention two of these studies in this respect.

The first study is Abdel-Jawad (1981). This is an investigation of Jordanian Arabic as used in the capital city, Amman. /q/ has four variants in Jordanian Arabic which are [q], the standard variant, [ʔ], [k], and [g], the vernacular variants. Each dialectal or vernacular variant stands for and represents a separate social group defined by origin: the Madanis or urban-dwellers, the Fallaheen or farmers, and the Bedouins or desert-dwellers. Linguistically-speaking, the Madanis use [ʔ], the Fallaheen [k], and the Bedouins [g]. [q] is the neutral and superordinate variant. Abdel-Jawad distinguished

three educational groups and isolated three speech styles. The use and distribution of the standard feature [q] by education and style is given in Table 7.2 below.

Table 7.2. Distribution of (Q)–Standardization by Education and Style in Jordanian Arabic

	Educational Group		
	Uneducated	High School	College
Casual Style	14%	24%	34%
Informal Style	18%	43%	49%
Formal Style	20%	57%	74%

Source: based on Abdel-Jawad 1981:454.

Table 7.2 shows the social continuum splitting into two larger groupings: the uneducated versus the high school– and college–educated. There is very little variation between the high school– and college–educated especially in the second style. But there is sizeable variation between the uneducated and the rest especially in the third speech style. Generally speaking, the high school–educated are intermediary between the two opposite poles of the social hierarchy: the uneducated and the college–educated.

Stylistic variation proceeds as usual. The more formal the style is the greater the frequency of the standard feature [q]. One can further notice in the above Table that the feature [q] is not favoured except in the third style and by the two higher–status groups only. Also the lower–status group shift the least while the highest–status group shift the most.

The second study is Al–Amadihi's of the Qatari Arabic of the capital city, Doha. In Qatari Arabic the variable [q] has four pronunciations: a voiceless uvular stop [q], a voiced velar fricative [ʁ], a voiced velar stop [g], and a voiced palatal affricate [j]. Al–Amadihi noted that the first two features are standard (standardization rule) whereas the latter two are colloquial (colloquialization rule). He discerned three educational groups and three or four styles. The distribution of (q) by educational group and style is given

in Table 7.3 below.

Table 7.3. The Variable (q) by Education and Style in Qatari Arabic (%)

	Educational Group					
	Elementary		High School		University	
	S-rule*	C-rule*	S-rule	C-rule	S-rule	C-rule
Informal Style	24	76	29	71	45	55
Formal Style	46	54	56	44	52	48
Standard Reading	92	8	99	1	99	1
Style						

*S-rule = standardization rule or the use of [q and 8]; *C-rule = colloquialization rule or the use of [g] and [j].

Source: based on Al-Amadihi 1985:333-337.

Table 7.3 shows that social stratification is not consistent and varies from one style to another. In informal speech, neither group favours the S-rule or the use of the standard forms [q] and [8] in which the elementary and high school-educated are rather clearly divided from the university-educated. In the last two speech styles, the two higher groups are set off from the lower group, though with a very narrow difference. While social differentiation is hazy, stylistic stratification is very clear. The standard forms are near-categorically favoured in standard reading style, disfavoured in informal style, and half-way in formal style.

Thus Abdel-Jawad's and Al-Amadihi's studies share many characteristics with each other. In fact these properties are shared by every sociolinguistic study of Arabic. As all of these studies were modelled on Labov (1966, 1972a) and Trudgill (1974), their main concern was to show that language variation in the Arabic-speaking world occurs along the bi-dialectal continuum - i.e. one standard, one vernacular, no matter how many dialect groups were represented in each study. Although there is nothing wrong in principle with this view of linguistic variation, it is over-restrictive at best and misleading

at worst since in the Arab world, as well as in other speech communities, linguistic variation and change can happen away from the standard towards (an)other vernacular(s).

In the rest of this chapter, I will present evidence on how immigrants in this study can change their non—standard speech towards that of their local addressees which is characteristically non—standard as well. I will try to back up my evidence from other studies and point to the differences involved.

7.2.1.2 The Variable (q) in This Study and Education

7.2.1.2.1 Presentation and Description of the Results by Education

The distribution of (q) by education and style is given in Table 7.4 below.

Table 7.4. Percentages of (q) by Education and Style

		Variants			
1. IIS	[q]	[?]	[g]	[j]	No.
NE	11.12	1.04	82.36	5.48	674
PE	9.78	1.02	83.72	5.48	584
SE	26.66	2.96	65.44	4.94	405
UE	28.68	0.44	66.40	4.48	893

2. ILS					
NE	17.62	50.00	30.34	2.04	488
PE	29.34	62.14	8.52	00.00	375
SE	70.12	29.32	0.28	0.28	348
UE	40.56	58.58	0.86	00.00	466
*UE	23.76	75.70	0.18	0.36	544

3. WLS					
PE	100.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	
SE	100.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	
UE	100.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	

4. QRS					
PE	100.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	

Key: IIS = immigrant-to-immigrant style; ILS = immigrant-to-local style;
WLS = word list style; QRS = Quranic recitation style; NE = non-educated;
PE = primary-educated; SE = secondary-educated; UE = university-educated;
* denotes local group. [q] = SA; [?] = DA; [g] and [j] = IGFA.

Table 7.4 shows that the four phonetic variants vary in their distribution across styles and social groups. In IIS, the characteristic variant of IGFA, namely [g], is used the most by every social group. The second most used variant, though at a far too much lower frequency, is [q], the distinctive feature of the superordinate variety, SA. Both [j], the second subvariant of IGFA, and [ʔ], the phonetic form that is exclusively DA in origin, are least used, although the latter is even virtually negligible, not exceeding 3% at maximum. Thus only [g] and [q] can be taken to indicate social status and differentiate between the educational groups while [j] and [ʔ] cannot. In general, the social groups divide into two: the lower group (LG) and the middle group (MG). The LG includes the NE and PE while the MG the SE and UE. This division coincides with, say, the frequency of the non-standard features in the speech of the two groups. As usual, the LG makes more frequent use of [g] than the MG.

The proportions of the linguistic variants are reversed in ILS. The previously least used DA variant [ʔ] now becomes by and large the most used one. [j] is either non-existent or practically negligible as was the case with [ʔ] in IIS. The distinctive linguistic variant of IGFA – i.e. [g], disappears and is a mirror-image of [q] in IIS, especially as far as the LG is concerned. The standard feature [q] generally increases for every social group. Thus while at least three variants can be employed for the delimitation of the social groups, the resultant sociolinguistic differentiation varies from variant to another. The immigrant variant [g] splits the social continuum into two: the LG, on the one hand, and the MG, on the other. The local vernacular form, [ʔ] re-divides the educational groups. One can notice that although at least three social groups are clearly identified: i.e. SE, NE, PE–UE, the differences between the last three groups are small and are within the range 50–62 (about 12%). The secondary-educated are the opposite extreme of the primary-educated in their usage of [ʔ] where the former use it the least, the latter the most. The extreme ends of the educational scale occupy a mid-position which is closer to the PE rather than to the SE. Probably the most reliable single feature in distinguishing amongst the educational groups is the standard form [q]. The social pattern is generally consistent with the fact that the lower the social

status the lesser the frequency of the standard form. [q] is favoured only by the second highest-ranking educational group. (The behaviour of the SE in this respect is very remarkable and we will have to say more about it in the next section.)

But it can be said that the social groups can be distinguished not as much by the use of a single variant as by the way in which they utilize combinations of two or more of these variants. And any sociolinguistic definition of such groups should reflect that, therefore. This might be true also. For instance, the NE utilizes all four variants, though variably. The PE uses only three. The SE is a mirror-image of the PE in their treatment of [q] and [ʔ]. The UE strikes more or less a balance between using the standard and the local variants [q] and [ʔ] respectively.

Finally, the local university-educated group vary [ʔ] with [q] in their speech, favouring the former over the latter. More will be said about this in the next section.

At the higher ends of the stylistic continuum, the linguistic variants undergo the final re-arrangement. In both WLS and QRS, the standard form [q] is categorical for every social group. No one single vernacular form of either DA or IGFA was elicited or used save for two exceptional cases in WLS. These two cases, which included two newly-weds of the MG, were excluded from the data since the words were deliberately read in the colloquial. Apart from this minor exception, these styles are regular and in which no social divisions amongst the educational groups can be seen.

7.2.1.2.2 Discussion and Interpretation of the Results

In this section, we discuss the implications of our results in the light of the relevant sociolinguistic findings of both Western and Arabic studies. In particular, we will be concerned mainly with the nature of social differentiation, on the one hand, and stylistic shift on the other. Other points will also merit our attention such as the speech behaviour of the local university-educated group.

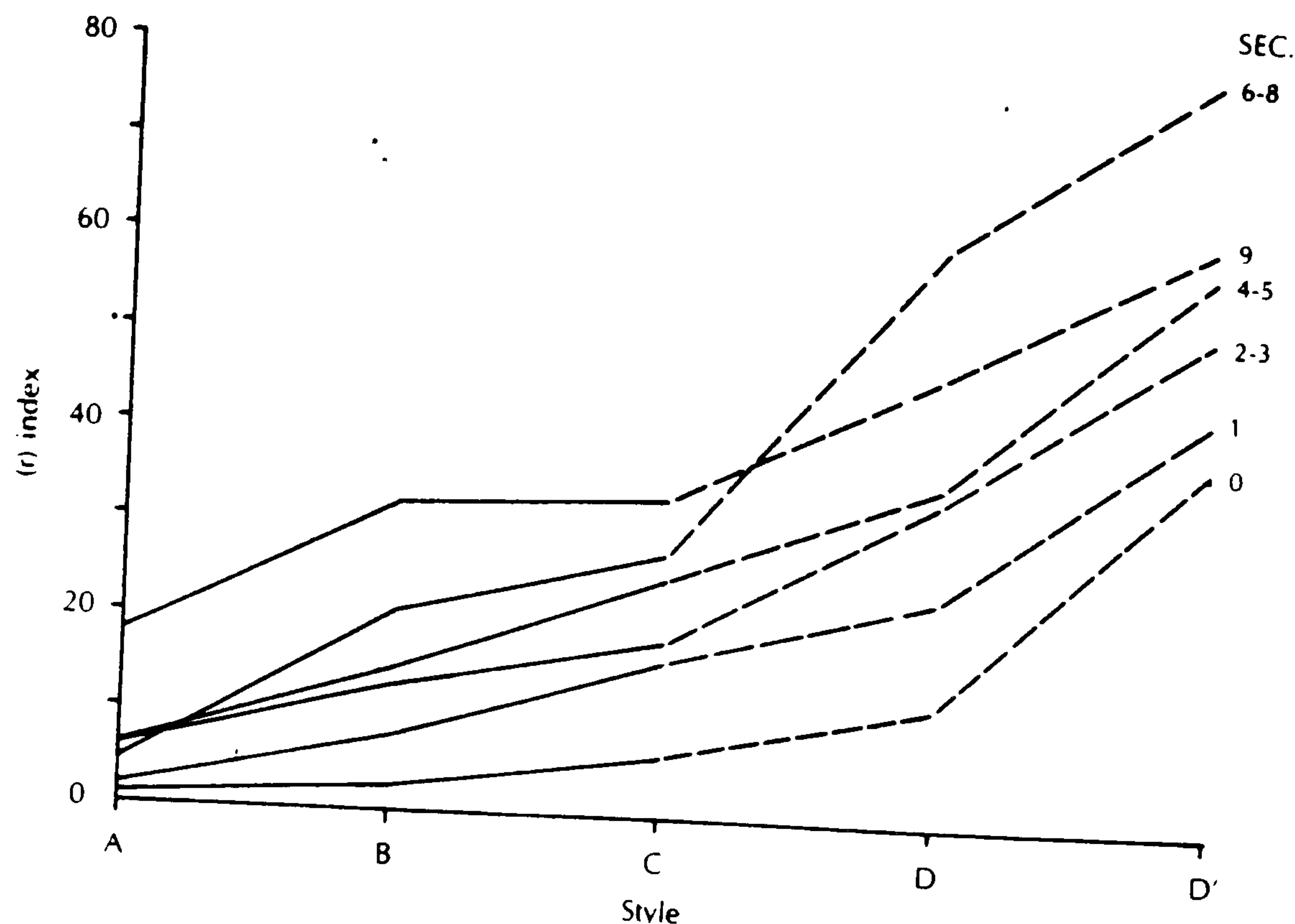
First social differentiation amongst the educational groups. The social hierarchization of the four educational groups is continually redefined depending on the speech situation. In general, conversational styles – i.e. IIS and ILS, are usually associated with some form or another of social differentiation whereas reading styles including WLS and QRS are not

at all. Within conversational styles, social differences between the groups emerge more fully and clearly not when the immigrants talk with one another (i.e. as insiders) but rather when they talk with the local outsiders. That is why we find in IIS not only the division of the social continuum into an LG and and MG and without any virtual differences within each subgroup but also the separating gap between the two social divisions not exceeding or about 18% at the most, which is very narrow indeed.

Social differences are pronounced to their fullest in ILS. The previous positions and relationships of the educational groups on the social scale are drastically altered and in which the two middle or border groups: the SE and the PE, play an important role. At one end, the PE can be seen to dissociate themselves from the lowest group, the NE, and bring themselves closer to the highest group, the UE. Thus the PE use [ʔ] the most and are immediately followed by the UE with a gap of 4% inbetween. At the other end, the second-highest group the SE part with the UE and also dissociate themselves from every other social group by predominantly favouring the standard variant [q] over the local one [ʔ]. In other words, the second-highest group use the standard form much more often than the highest group.

Labov (1972a:Ch.5, esp. 124–29) has named this type of phenomenon crossover pattern or hypercorrection. Crossovers and hypercorrections usually mean the same thing. By the first is meant that a lower-status group exceeds and thus crosses over the percentage score for a particular variable obtained by a higher-status group. Hypercorrection implies that the second-highest group overdo their usage of correct, prestigious, and standard forms so much so that they exceed and go beyond the highest-ranking group in this respect. Of Labov's (1966, 1972a) five phonological variables in the New York City study, three were associated with the hypercorrect pattern: namely, (r), (eh), and (Oh). His results for (r) are given in Figure 7.2 below.

Figure 7.2 Class Stratification of (r) in New York City



Source: Labov 1972a:125.

In New York City American English, /r/ has two pronunciations: a prestigious [r] and non-prestigious /ɹ/. Figure 7.2 shows that in casual speech (i.e. style A) the usage of prestigious [r] is negligible for all social classes and is less than 20% for the upper middle class (9). The lower middle class (6-8) is totally undifferentiated from the working class (0-5). In careful speech (style B), the differences start to emerge between the lower middle class and the other working classes. The usage of [r] steadily increases for all social classes in the reading styles: reading passage (C), word list (D), and minimal pairs (D'). In the last two speech styles the lower middle class or the second-highest group overdo the employment of prestigious [r] to the extent that they exceed the values of the upper middle class. This amounts to about 20% in minimal pairs alone. Using correct and prestigious [r] by the lower middle class more than the upper class is called hypercorrection.

Labov (1972a) drew general conclusions from the hypercorrect role of the lower middle class or the second-highest group in general. The most important conclusion was that hypercorrection by the lower middle class was taken as evidence on the existence of sound change in progress which was later strengthened by real time (historical) and apparent time (generational or age-grading) evidence. As Labov (1972a:141) puts it:

The existence of hypercorrect pattern in New York City has been established beyond any reasonable doubt. The suggested role of hypercorrection in the acceleration of linguistic change has been put forward with the expectation that further empirical studies may confirm or refute this.

Also the hypercorrect pattern of the lower middle class might point to their linguistic insecurity. This is manifested especially in their great stylistic variation as a result of avoiding using stigmatized forms. As Labov (1972a:132) puts it:

The great fluctuation in stylistic variation shown by the lower middle class, their hypersensitivity to stigmatized features which they use themselves, and the inaccurate perception of their own speech, all point to a high degree of linguistic insecurity for these speakers.

(For further details especially on the linguistic insecurity index, see Labov 1972a: 117-18.)

Finally, the use of the hypercorrect pattern by the lower middle class or the second-highest group in general is aimed at correctness which consequently implies a disliking of one's own speech. This hypercorrection in the words of Labov (1972a:117) indicates:

... their conscious striving for correctness; and ... their strongly negative attitude towards their native speech pattern.

Hypercorrect patterns, it has to be noted, are in general exceptional and deviant in the sense that they are relatively infrequent and exhibit irregular social stratification patterning. Very few studies have found hypercorrections of the kind reported in Labov above. One of these studies is Winford (1978) which is an investigation of creole continua in Trinidadian English. Three social classes were defined, namely, the working class, the upper working class, and the middle class. Winford found that the variable (th), a voiceless interdental fricative, was involved in hypercorrection. More precisely, he found that the second-highest social class, the upper working class, exceeded the highest-ranking class, the middle class, in their usage of the standard and prestigious

variant [th] in word list style only by about 20%. In the other speech styles, including casual style, careful style, and reading style, social stratification amongst the three social classes was regular. (For more examples of hypercorrection by the second-highest group, see Bell 1984.)

The speech behaviour of the SE in our study falls definitely within the hypercorrect framework. However, the variable (q) is much more complicated to interpret than (r) in New York City or (th) in Trinidad due to the implications and methodologies of the research used in these cases. There are at least three points which differentiate our hypercorrect pattern from Labov's. First, Labov's hypercorrection took place in the most formal styles: word list and minimal pairs. In this study, there is no hypercorrection by any social group in the two most formal styles, WLS and QRS, in which all have corrected to the same extent. Rather hypercorrection occurred in a speech situation in which the immigrants (insiders) were involved in natural conversations with the locals (outsiders), though with a different dialectal background. How formal this is is difficult to say but it is certainly not as formal as Labov's word list and minimal pairs. That crossover patterns can arise in conversational styles such as casual and careful speech has already been demonstrated in Trudgill (1974:104-112), Horvath (1985:83-3, 91, 125-26) and Guy et al (1986:37-8). Therefore this study can be seen as giving further support to Labov's finding above by extending it to speech situations of interdialectal communication between speakers of different vernaculars.

Secondly, the second-highest group in this study, unlike that of New York City, are not the only ones who shift their speech the most. Table 7.4 clearly shows that the UE and the SE shift to the same extent. This can be seen, for example, from their equal suppressing of their immigrant variant [g]. The main difference, however, lies in the fact that the SE have opted for the correct, standard feature [q] while the UE have gone for the local variant [ʔ]. The SE favour [q] 70% of the time as against 40% of the time for the UE, with a sizeable 30% gap difference inbetween which is even greater than that that the lower middle class in New York City had.

Thirdly, the variable (q) is more complex than (r) in New York City. In the latter

case, New Yorkers were faced between choosing to speak the way they normally do – i.e. with a non-standard \emptyset pronunciation of /r/ mainly – and/or a combination of [r] and / \emptyset /. That is, the choice is bi-dimensional involving a standard pronunciation and a vernacular pronunciation. In this study, speakers had to choose between continuing to (i) maintain their original immigrant dialect IGFA (i.e. [g and j]) use, (ii) switching completely, or partially, to the receiving local dialect DA (i.e. [ʔ] use), (iii) switching completely or partially to the superordinate variety SA (i.e. [q] use), and (iv) a combination and mixture of some or all of these. Thus the choice is tridialectal or tridimensional, a choice that definitely affects the ascription of stigma and prestige to vernacular variants in particular. Choosing [q] by the SE, for example, does not consequently and necessarily imply that [ʔ] is a stigmatized feature and there are, in fact, many indications to the contrary such as its considerable and overwhelming usage by the locals and the immigrants alike in ILS as Table 7.4 above shows. However, the favouring of [q] over [ʔ] by the SE is very straightforward and clearly indicates that the former is the single most prestigious feature.

It is probably worth questioning at this stage whether the hypercorrect speech behaviour of the SE in this study is no more than a straightforward and simple accommodation to the speech levels of their local addressees who might have higher [q] scores so that their speech performance is not inherently motivated. We will be presenting evidence later that this is not so at all.

The unusual speech behaviour of the SE can be interpreted, as in Labov above, to be indicative of sound change in progress. (We will be giving historical evidence later that this is so.) This change in progress implies a rivalry between two variants [q and ʔ], let alone the receding influence of a third one [g]. The adoption of the standard feature [q] is led by the upper section of the community, especially the next highest-ranking group while [ʔ] is adopted by the lower section of the community especially the upper lower one. It goes without saying, though, that both [q] and [ʔ] are variably used by every social group in addition to the original immigrant variants which are also utilized differently in different speech situations by different social groups.

No Arabic sociolinguistic study has so far reported the existence of hypercorrection . However, the presence of the crossover pattern or hypercorrection can be safely said to be an established fact in this study. In more than one place in the remainder of this thesis, we will come across other patterns of related interest in our subsequent analysis of the other variables in Chapters 8 and 9. These analyses will be hoped to give further confirmation to the hypercorrection described above.

To close this section, one comment on discreteness in social stratification is in order. In more than one place in his Norwich study, Trudgill (1974) remarked that his social classes were discrete as reflected by their index scores on particular linguistic variables. As he puts it (1974:91):

... the social class index has provided a successful basis for the establishment of discrete social classes as these classes are reflected in their linguistic behaviour, since, for each style, the scores rise consistently from MMC to LWC.

This is definitely an undue overgeneralization. There are many linguistic variables in which discreteness in the social class continuum does not exist at all (see Petyt 1985:210). The variable (q) in this study casts doubts on this claim also. For instance, in IIS, neither the two lower groups are differentiated from each other nor are the higher groups as well. Furthermore, there is a gap of 12% only in ILS involving three social groups, i.e. the NE, PE and UE, as far as their scores on [?] are concerned. This problem of discreteness in social stratification will be referred to here and there in several places in the course of this thesis.

Secondly, style shift and the direction of language change. This study has clearly demonstrated and quantified the addressee effect (Bell 1984). The percentage scores of the linguistic variants obtained by the different educational groups in conversational styles strongly attest to this. It has been shown in Table 7.4 above that when the speaker and the addressee are both immigrants and original or native speakers of IGFA as a first language, then their maintenance of IGFA variants is very high. The maintenance in IIS of the characteristic IGFA features [g] and [j] ranged from 70% for the MG to 90% for the LG as opposed to the virtual absence of the distinctive DA feature [?] and a

maximum of about 30% for the standard form [q].

The predominance of IGFA features in IIS probably indicates language loyalty and group membership. The overwhelming use of [g] and [j] bears resemblance to the increasing use of centralization on Martha's Vineyard which indicates a sense of belonging on the part of the islanders to their island. As Labov (1972a:36) puts it:

It is apparent that the immediate meaning of this phonetic features is 'Vineyarder'. When a man says [rait] or [haus], he is unconsciously establishing the fact that he belongs to the island: that he is one of the natives to whom the island really belongs. In this respect, centralization is not different from the other subphonemic features of other regions which are noted for their local dialect.

By the same token it can be said that when the immigrants persist in saying their characteristic and original features they are establishing the fact that they are immigrants and non-locals. Thus [ʔ] symbolises local identity and [g] immigrant identity. And to use [g] is equal to saying I am an immigrant.

But when the speech situation is changed and the speaker and his addressee are no longer alike as far as their dialectal background is concerned, the characteristic IGFA forms diminish and/or vanish altogether. Table 7.4 shows that the presence of a local interlocutor with an immigrant speaker in ILS has resulted in at least two things: first, the disappearance of the immigrant forms [g] and [j] in the speech of the MG and their very sharp decrease in that of the LG, especially the PE and, secondly, and most importantly, the substitution of two rival forms as alternatives: the local form [ʔ] and the standard [q]. For all educational groups except for the SE, the local variant [ʔ] wins over [q].

Preference for the local dialect rather than the standard variety by most educational groups in conversational exchanges between the immigrants and the locals (i.e. ILS) can be easily illustrated with reference to the amount of stylistic shift as exhibited by the speech behaviour of the two most opposing groups in Table 7.4. For instance, the SE has shifted their scores on [q] from about 30% in IIS to 70% in ILS with a difference of 40%. The PE, on the other hand, shifted by 62% on [ʔ] in the same styles. That is, style shift by the PE is one and a half times that by the SE. We will present more evidence from the other variables in this study which will be hoped to give further

confirmation to the fact that the direction of language change in interdialectal contact involving a standard and two vernaculars such as the one at hand can be effected away from the standard towards the vernacular norms of another contact vernacular.

Our results, although they conform to the addressee pattern according to which speakers design their speech to suit their respective audience (Bell 1984), contrast with such studies in just the nature and direction of this style shift. In all such studies, the direction of change has been either towards the standard or the vernacular. Whether the contrasted styles were group style versus interview style (Labov 1972b), spontaneous style versus interview style (L. Milroy 1980), playground style versus school style (Cheshire 1982), conversational style versus interview style (Gal 1984), or addressee-oriented styles (Douglas-Cowie 1978; Bickerton 1980; Coupland 1980, 1984), the end result has always been the same. The contrasted poles of style shift in all are the standard and the vernacular – i.e. one vernacular, with the latter being switched to less often in the interview, etc. To further illustrate this point, two of these studies will be examined. The first is Douglas-Cowie (1978) in which 10 Northern Irish English villager speakers were recorded in two speech situations or experiments: in one experiment they were recorded with an insider from the same village (the author herself) and in another with an outsider with an RP accent. Her results for one of the variables investigated, namely (ng), which, as in most varieties of English, can be realized as a velar nasal and as an alveolar nasal, with the former being the standard and the latter the colloquial, are shown in Table 7.5 below.

Table 7.5 The Variable (ng) for 10 Northern Irish speakers in Two Experiments

Name of Informants	A	C	B	D	H	E	F	G	I	J
With insider	015	025	049	075	084	091	094	098	100	100
With outsider	004	005	005	035	075	042	075	084	097	100

Source: Douglas-Cowie 1978:41)

Table 7.5 shows that the informants, for whom scores are given by individual, behave

differently towards the use of the variants in both experiments. For some speakers there is either no code-switching at all towards the outsider such as I and J, or very little of it such as G and H as can be seen from the very high percentage of the non-standard and vernacular form. Speaker A shows very little switching by being predominantly standard in his speech in both styles. The others exhibit varying degrees of code-switching towards their outsider.

The second study is Coupland (1980, 1984) in which he has studied style shifting by a woman secretary at a travel agency on about five phonological variables in Welsh English, Cardiff. He has shown how the travel agent was able to accommodate her speech in such a way that suits, matches and reflects the social status of her clients. One of these variables was what he called (Intervocalic t) which can be pronounced as a voiceless alveolar as in RP and as a non-RP voiced tap. The use of the standard variant by both the secretary and her clients of the five social classes is compared in Table 7.6 below.

Table 7.6 The Variable (Intervocalic t): Degree of Standardness in Client's compared with assistant's use in Cardiff English.

	Classes					
	I	II	IIIN	IIIM	IV	V
Client's use	00.00	12.80	41.10	58.70	77.60	80.00
Assistant's use	26.10	12.00	27.10	37.80	50.00	66.70

Source: based on Coupland 1984:63.

Table 7.6 shows how the travel agent manages to match her style level with that of her clients. Generally speaking, the lower the use of the non-standard variant in the clients' speech, the lesser it is in the agent's and vice versa. Only in one case, Class II, does the agent's speech closely match that of her client's but in all other cases, the agent's generally reflects the social rank of her addressees.

Thus both of the studies by Douglas–Cowie and Coupland emphasize the bi–dimensionality of language shift along the continuum of the standard and the one vernacular.

I know of two studies that have so far addressed the question of shifting between vernaculars in detail. The first is Payne (1976, 1980) in which she has shown how immigrant or what she called out–of–state (OOS) children of up to the age of 14 and from eight dialect areas, acquired the phonetic and phonological system of the Philadelphia dialect of American English. Payne studied the acquisition patterns for 8 variables: 5 phonetic and 3 phonological. The results for the phonetic variables are shown in Table 7.7 below.

Table 7.7 Percentage of Acquisition of the Phonetic Variables in Natural Speech in OOS Children, Philadelphia.

Pattern	Variables				
	ayo	aw	oy	uw	ow
Acquired (%)	50	40	60	52	68
Partially acquired	44.1	40	30	48	32
Not acquired (%)	5.9	20	10	0	0
Number of children who need to learn variable	34	20	20	25	25

Source: Payne 1980:151.

Table 7.7 shows that the majority of OOS children have either fully or partially acquired the Philadelphia vowel system. Only on three out of five phonetic variables that some children have not yet acquired it. However, Payne does not show us whether her children are able to shift their styles depending on whether they talked with their friends with the same immigrant dialect as they are or with the local Philadelphia dialect. (For style shift in children, see Romaine 1978, 1984.) This limitation in Payne's analysis is in

principle due to the methodology of her data collection that was modelled on that of Labov (1972a, 1980) where structured questionnaires were the main source for eliciting speech.

The other study is Kerswill (1985) which examined how 39 rural adult immigrants of various educational levels and occupational categories from the Stril dialect area came to acquire the local dialect of Bergen, Norway. In Bergen, the Norwegian language situation is very complicated which includes two standard varieties: Bokmål, the standard variety most widely used in Norway and Bergen, and Nynorsk, the standard variety which is confined to rural areas. The rural immigrants' variety, Stril, is closer to Nynorsk while the local dialect of Bergen is Bokmål. Both Stril and Bergen are colloquials, however (for further information see Kerswill 1985:136). Kerswill isolated three linguistic variables: one from morphology, one from phonetics, and one from intonation, the latter being a perception experiment rather than something that deals with language production proper. The morphological and phonetic variables were called (Morpholexical) and (Schwa-lowering) respectively.

The general findings of Kerswill's study have shown the ability of the rural immigrants to shift to or acquire the local Bergen dialect. Their acquisition of the local dialect was definitely constrained by many social factors. But, in general, the higher-status immigrants made more frequent use of the local dialect than the lower-status ones (Kerswill 1985:152). Among the most important factors in the acquisition of the local dialect of Bergen by the immigrants were the occupational status and the educational level although they were differently correlated with language shift. More precisely, Kerswill's (1985:124) results have shown that education and occupation did not produce the same effect for all the linguistic variables. For example, both the occupational status and educational level were important or significant for (Schwa-lowering) while neither occupation nor education were important for the morphological index (or morpholexical).

However, Kerswill, like Payne above, has not shown whether the rural immigrants were able to style-shift according to who they were speaking with as we have

demonstrated in this study. The reason for this shortcoming is his dependence in his data collection on structured questionnaires. There is only one case in which Kerswill (1985:178) recorded an immigrant woman in four speech situations: in an interview, in a group conversation with friends, at work, and at home in the rural area from which she migrated. The results obtained showed that she was demonstrably able to switch her styles accordingly. At work she spoke like a Bergener, and at home like a Stril.

Our study therefore contrasts with those of Payne and Kerswill through the quantification of the addressee effect but it agrees with them in the ability of the immigrants to acquire or shift to the local dialect. In fact, without the quantification of the role of the addressee, the sociolinguistic picture of acquiring the local dialect on the part of the immigrants would be completely obliterated and lost in this study. And we have seen in Table 7.4 how [ʔ] appeared only in ILS where the immigrants were engaged in conversations with the locals. That this speech behaviour is regular and consistent will be confirmed by the examination of other variables later in this thesis.

Inter-vernacular shifting in conversational speech seems not to be confined to immigrant case studies. The following studies are worth mentioning. The first is a study that was conducted as part of the Durham Sociolinguistic Survey under the directorship of Professor Charles Jones, in a few villages around Durham City, England, by Kerswill (1987) in which he reported his findings of an earlier fieldwork study that included 5 boys, 5 girls and one old miner who were all recorded in two speech situations: in an interview with the author and in peer group sessions. Kerswill has identified two speech varieties: Durham Vernacular and Durham Standard, the latter being used by shop assistants, secretaries and salesmen and is a secondary standard learnt after adulthood (Kerswill 1987:28). Durham Standard is different from RP or the national standard but is an intermediate form between RP and Durham Vernacular. For example, the words going to, told, talk and make are pronounced in Durham Vernacular as /gane, telt, tak and mak/ while in Durham Standard as /go:ne, to:ld, to:hk and me:k/. For a number of linguistic variables from the levels of phonology and morphology, lexis and connected speech, Kerswill's study has shown that his informants did not switch to RP but rather to

Durham Standard in their interviews and to Durham Vernacular in their peer group sessions.

Three studies of Arabic are worth noting in this respect although all of them were primarily interested in the issue of the change that happens between the standard and the vernacular. In his study of the variable (q) which is based on a sample of educated Arab nationals from five countries including Jordan, Syria, Palestine, Egypt and the Lebanon, who were recorded in one speech style – namely, group conversations, Sallam (1980:93) found that the two most favoured variants were the standard one [q] and the urban one [ʔ] in that order. However, in two cases the relationship of the two variants was reversed: the Jordanians predominantly favoured [q] over [ʔ] 66% of the time while the Lebanese the latter over the former 71% of the time. For the Syrians, Palestinians and Egyptians, [q] and [ʔ] were, more or less, used half the time each.

Shorrab (1981) is a study of Palestinian Arabic in exile in the USA, in which he defined three social groups: the Madanis (urban dwellers), the Fallaheen (farmer villagers), and the Bedouins (desert dwellers). The variable (q) is pronounced differently by each group as follows: the first are originally [ʔ]–users, the second [k]–users, and the third [g]–users. The standard form [q] is neutral and is thus associated with no social group. Although this situation is ideal for investigating intervernacular shifting, Shorrab confined himself to, in the manner of Labov (1972a) and Trudgill (1974), portray a picture of movement towards the standard, no matter how dim this was. He described intervernacular contact only in qualitative terms and in a way that smells of dialect isolation rather than dialect contact and where very little intervernacular contact occurred. As he puts it (1981:152):

The Bedouin respondents proved to be more faithful to their spoken variety than the Fellahi respondents. Not a single Bedouin speaker used the Madani variant [ʔ]. Bedouin speakers used either the CA [q] or their own colloquial variant [g].

(Intervernacular shifting by the Fallahi speakers will be referred to at another section of this chapter below.)

Finally, Abdel–Jawad's (1981) study of Jordanian Arabic in Amman in which three

social groups were defined as in Shorrab's above. More precisely, the variable (q) is originally pronounced as [ʔ] by the urban group, as [k] by the Fallaheen group, and as [g] by the Bedouin group and as [q] in the standard. Table 7.8 below shows the distribution of (q) amongst these groups.

Table 7.8 Distribution of (Q)–Variants in Three Social Groups in Amman

	[q]	[ʔ]	[g]	[k]	No.
Urban group	34.00	61.50	4.50	00.00	4443
Bedouin group	29.50	25.00	45.50	00.00	2030
Fallaheen group	43.50	13.50	5.50	37.50	4055

Source: based on Abdel–Jawad 1981:321–22; also 175–77.

Table 7.8 shows that intervernacular shift does occur, though very limited. Although all social groups utilize the standard form [q] as the second most favoured variant besides their original colloquial variants except for the Fallaheen group who use it the most, the characteristically urban variant [ʔ] and the originally Bedouin variant [g] are also employed interchangeably. But no group shifts to [k] except its original users, the Fallaheen. While [ʔ] is favoured over [g] in intervernacular shifting, [q] is still preferred to both of them. (For another similar study of Jordanian Arabic with more emphasis on intervernacular contact, see Abdel–Jawad 1986.)

The small amount of intervernacular shifting especially towards the urban vernacular variant [ʔ] in Abdel–Jawad's study as well as in Shorrab's is due to the fact that they ignored and overlooked the role of the addressee whose different dialectal background certainly influences the direction in which the speaker modifies his speech.

Thus far, it has been established that in conversational speech especially in immigrant studies language change takes place towards the local vernacular. But in reading styles all shift takes place towards the standard in general.

The results of this study in WLS in which the standard form [q] is categorical for all agree with those of Labov (1972a) and Trudgill (1974) as to the supremacy of the

standard features in the most formal styles such as reading passage style and word list style. Perhaps one of the novel aspects of this study in this respect is the use of the Quranic Recitation Style (QRS), which was specifically administered for the illiterate speakers. The standard feature [q] was categorically pronounced by all the illiterates also.

However, the association of the standard features with the most formal styles is not always very straightforward. There are many cases in the literature (.e.g. Al-Amadihi 1985:337) that do not obey this rule due to many factors. Evidence from other variables in this study also casts doubts on this claim as we shall see later.

To sum up, stylistic stratification for the variable (q) proceeds as follows. The vernacular forms [g], [j], and [ʔ] occur mainly in conversational speech. The preference of [ʔ] for [g] is addressee-related in general. [g] and [j], the original immigrant forms, are favoured in IIS while [ʔ], the local form, in ILS. In formal or reading speech, all vernacular variants totally disappear in favour of [q] which is categorically used.

Finally, the question of the university-educated local group (*UE) and their speech performance in ILS. For this group the standard form [q] is not favoured over their original vernacular form [ʔ]. Although their linguistic behaviour resembles that of the immigrant MG in IIS regarding their employment of the standard, their usage of the standard form in ILS is less than that of their immigrant counterparts of a similar status. It is also clearly shown in Table 7.4 above that their performance on (q) is a mirror-image of the behaviour of the immigrant second-highest group: the latter's use of the standard form [q] is as much as the former's of the local vernacular form [ʔ] in ILS. This result is very important because it leads us to conclude that the locals had no influence whatsoever on the above hypercorrect behaviour of the immigrant next highest-ranking group, the SE. This conclusion is further strengthened if we take into account the fact that two SE informants were recorded, though separately, with the same local illiterate old man (over 70 years of age) whose scores on [q] were only 8.74% against 91.26% on [ʔ]. Thus, that the immigrant SE are divergent not only from the speech norms of their co-immigrants but also from those of the local interlocutors is now

clearly established.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that the locals did not switch to the immigrants' speech and Table 7.4 above shows no trace of the immigrant form [g] in their speech and this is not restricted to the university-educated group but applies to all the locals of all the educational levels in general. Of the twenty or so locals recorded in this study with the immigrants in the immigrant-to-local encounter, none of them produced any immigrant forms at all. This also seems to be generally the position in other similar areas around the world. Neither Kerswill (1985) nor Bortoni-Ricardo (1985) in their studies of immigrant speech patterns in Norway and Brazil respectively recorded such cases in which the locals switched to the immigrant vernaculars. The dominance-territorial, economic, social, etc. of the local community seems to be an important factor in this state of affairs. The absence of immigrant speech forms in the speech of the locals in this study is definitely dominance-related. Shorrab (1981:152-53) noted that the dominant Madani speakers did not use the stigmatized Fallaheen variant [k] except for ridicule and laughter. Abdel-Jawad (1981:321-22) reported in Table 7.8 above arrived at the same conclusion for his Madani speakers regarding their non-use of the Fallaheen variant [k].

7.2.2 The Social Parameter of Age

7.2.2.1 Introduction

The age parameter derives its importance from its role in locating and indicating sound change in progress. Language change in progress can also obtain when a multitude of factors converge with and are supported by time evidence. Usually sociolinguists associate irregularities in class stratification, style differentiation, and sex roles with linguistic change in progress (Labov 1972a:Ch.9; Chambers and Trudgill 1980; Romaine 1978; Guy et al 1986). The structure of network patterns (L. Milroy 1980, 1982; Milroy and Milroy 1985) can similarly indicate language change especially when the networks are loose and fluid. Linguists such as Bailey (1973) included and involved even the linguistic context in the issue of language change in progress. We need not concern ourselves with all of these things at this stage but will refer to them, as they arise from time to time in

the rest of this thesis. Meanwhile the issue of age is taken up below.

In his discussion of the issue of time, Labov (1972a:133–36, 274–83) distinguished between two dimensions: real time and apparent time. By the latter is meant simply age grading: that is, the distribution of a linguistic feature across two or more age groups. Real time involves the historical record(s) of a particular language variety at (a) certain period(s) of time. When the different age groups are attested to vary in their usage of a certain linguistic variable and this is supplemented by historical evidence, say, from a previously conducted survey some twenty years ago or more, then sound change in progress can be verified. If no historical evidence is available, then the actual situation is not sound change in progress but rather age grading.

In New York City, sound change in progress with respect to the dimension of time was verified by comparing apparent time data with four real time records extending back to 1896. And in Martha's Vineyard this has been achieved by a comparison with a study some thirty years ago. To illustrate this point, the centralization of (ay) and (aw) in Martha's Vineyard is shown in Table 7.8 below.

Table 7.9 Percentage of Centralization of (ay) and (aw) by Age in Martha's Vineyard

	(ay)	(aw)
Ia (over 75 years)	25	22
Ib (61–75 years)	35	37
IIa (46–60 years)	62	44
IIb (31–45 years)	81	88
III (14–30 years)	37	46

Source: Labov 1972a:279.

Table 7.9 shows that centralization — i.e. [ai] and [au], progressively increases with young age. The IIb middle age group centralize the diphthongs the most. As there was no mention of centralization in the historical record on Martha's Vineyard before 30 years and by contrasting these two time points — i.e. his own study and the earlier one —

Labov firmly concluded that sound change is in progress in the speech of the Vineyarders as far as these two variables are concerned.

Almost every study modelled on Labov (1963; 1966; 1972a) has included age as one of its social parameters (e.g. Trudgill 1974; Macaulay 1977; L. Milroy 1980; Harris 1985; Al-Amadihi 1985, etc.). However, not all such studies have been fortunate enough in finding available historical records to obtain or report sound change in progress.

7.2.2.2 The Variable (q) and Age in This Study

7.2.2.2.1 Aim and Scope of Analyzing (q) by Age

Analyzing (q) by age is aimed at to achieve two ends. First, we want to show, like Labov (1972a), whether there is any sound change in progress involved. This end can be achieved by checking our results by age against those of Cantineau's (1936) description of pre-immigrant speech on the Golan Heights half a century ago. Secondly, we want to see whether the old group have the full range of style shift as the young group do, especially in accommodating to different addressees.

7.2.2.2.2 Presentation and Description of the Results by Age

Table 7.10 shows the variable (q) by age and style.

Table 7.10 Percentages of Variable (q) by Age and Style

1. IIS	[q]	[?]	[g]	[j]	No.
50+ year-olds	6.60	0.40	77.00	16.00	1483
20-30 year-olds	19.40	1.14	74.46	5.00	2556

2. ILS					
50+ year-olds	6.00	2.64	79.20	12.16	1177
20-30 year-olds	37.50	50.80	11.00	0.70	1677

3. WLS					
50+ year-olds	100.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	
20-30 year-olds	100.00	00.00	00.00	00 00	

4. QRS					
50+ year-olds	95.66	00.00	4.34	00.00	
20-30 year-olds	100.00	00.00	00.00	00 00	

It is clearly shown in Table 7.10 that the two age groups are differentiated in conversational styles but not in reading styles. In IIS, the young are separated from the old on two variants but are alike on two others. The standard variant [q] is a mirror-image of the vernacular immigrant variant [j] as they intersect with age. The 20-30 year-olds use [q] nearly as much as the 50+ year-olds use [j] and, conversely, [j] is as much used by the young as is [q] by the old. The immigrant variant [g] is the most favoured and there is no differentiation between the age groups in this regard. The local variant [?] is negligible for both. In the second speech style ILS the young and the old are separated on every variant. The old favour predominantly [g] and [j] over [q] and [?] while the young reverse the situation in favour of [?] and [q] in that order. In other

words, the old have maintained the same speech behaviour both in IIS and ILS but the young have not done so. Finally, in WLS and QRS the formalities of the speech situations trigger the categorical use of the standard form [q] and the two age groups are equal in this matter except for the fact that the old use the immigrant vernacular form [g] some 4% of the time.

7.2.2.3 Discussion and Interpretation of the Results

Two points will merit our attention in this section. These are (i) the issue of sound change in progress and (ii) the nature and range of style shift.

As to the first, the data summarized in Table 7.10 above shows that in conversational speech – i.e. IIS and ILS, there is progressive uvularization (i.e. [q]–usage) and glottalization (i.e. [ʔ]–usage) in the young age group in comparison with the old one. This also implies that velarization ([g]–usage) and affrication ([j]–usage) are more frequent in the old group than in the young one. A comparison of this apparent time picture with Cantineau's (1963:27–28) statement that reads:

Le qâf ([q]) ... on ne trouve pas dans les parlers de nomads aucune trace. Dans ces dialects, le qâf (qui est en réalité un gâf ([g]) a même point d'articulation palatale que le kâf ([k]); et les consonnes forment paires.

is a firm and conclusive evidence that sound change is in progress. This is manifested by the heretofore unattested appearance of not only the standard form [q] but also the local vernacular form [ʔ] in IGFA. It can be safely assumed that [q] was first introduced into IGFA with the opening of government schools from 1951 onwards when the people were living in the Golan Heights. The introduction of [ʔ], however, is definitely a post–immigration phenomenon which has arisen as a consequence of dialect contact between immigrant speech and local speech – i.e. IGFA and DA, since or after June 1967.

The status of the original immigrant variants deserves some comments. First, the immigrant subvariant [j] will disappear before too long. The young age group makes use of it far too less often than the old group. For some SE and UE immigrants, the frequency of [j] in their speech was either nil or less than one percent. For the other young immigrants, [j], although it occurred variably with [q] and [g] in the same words,

was far less frequent than either of them. I have checked all the [j]—containing words in my data and found that in each case the young either favoured the other pronunciations with, say, [q] and [g] over those with [j] or did not use them at all, while the old were the opposite and preferred the [j]—pronunciation to the others. However, there was only one word which was pronounced near—categorically with [j] by everyone — namely, the word [ja:sim] 'proper name'. Its standard reflex is [qa:sim].

In contrast to [j], the usage of [g] will probably continue along with [q] and [ʔ]. How long [g] will persist in the new dialect contact situation is difficult to predict but one thing is certain which is that it will be used as a stylistic variant as far as the young are concerned. In other words, [g] will be, on the whole, confined to speech situations involving the immigrants themselves while [ʔ] between the immigrants and the locals. [q] will continue to be used along with both of them in either situation.

The final point that should be noted in this section is that the existence and establishment of sound change in progress at the time level confirms and supports the hypercorrect pattern manifested by the speech behaviour of the second—highest group encountered above and which was also indicative of the same phenomenon.

Now concerning the nature and range of style shift as it intersects with age, it is clearly demonstrated in Table 7.10 above that the old group has a narrower range of styles than the young group does. In conversational speech, to start with, the old group makes no distinction as to their use of the appropriate linguistic variants between accommodating to their local and immigrant interlocutors. Their speech behaviour in IIS has remained totally unchanged in ILS. That is, they are non—sensitive to the addressee effect. The young group, in contrast, behave differently in both of these speech situations as their percentage scores show: they use the immigrant forms [g] and [j] predominantly in IIS but replace them with the local form [ʔ] and the standard one [q] in ILS. And the differences between both styles are very significant indeed.

The inability of the old group in comparison to the young age group in general to accommodate or acquire new host vernacular speech habits has been confirmed in a number of sociolinguistic studies. In his study of rural immigrants in Bergen, Norway,

Kerswill (1985:132) found that age interacted significantly with dialect pressure on the modification of one's speech. More precisely, the young immigrants who arrived at an earlier age at Bergen modified their speech to a greater extent than the late arrivals. As he puts it:

Stril immigrants arriving at a relatively young age (perhaps up to 16 or 17) are likely to feel a very strong pressure to modify their speech in the direction of B ... They respond by modifying their speech to an extent that is significantly greater than do those who move later.

And in her study of rural immigrants acquiring the urban dialect of Brazilândia, Brazil, Bortoni-Ricardo (1985:ch.8) demonstrated in her analysis of four linguistic variables how the youth (15–25 year-olds) who moved to the area as children showed significantly higher skill in mastering the standard urban speech features than did the adults. For every linguistic variable the youth had higher frequencies of the urban forms than did the adults.

Age is even important to children in their acquisition of a new dialect. Payne's (1976; 1980:154–56) study of immigrant children in Philadelphia has shown that these children were able to learn the Philadelphia vowel system up to the age of fourteen years. Although she found no significant differences between the various age groups which she defined for the children, she regarded 8 years of age as the cut-off point in this matter.

In a rather peculiar case of dialect growth in the northern Swedish speech community of Burträsk, Thelander (1982) found that his sample of 56 speakers, who were recorded in three speech situations: in an interview, in group sessions with a stranger and without, alternated their usage of dialectal and standard forms of twelve sociolinguistic variables in a way that cannot be described as purely dialectal or purely standard, but rather as a mixture of the two and this he termed regional standard. The regional standard is a mixture of dialectal and standard forms implicationally. For instance, the standard form for 'they' in Burträsk is *dåmm* and the vernacular form is *dämm* while for 'not' the standard is *inte* and the vernacular is *int*. Now standard usage combines standard forms together and vernacular usage the vernacular forms. Regional standard usage is intermediate and combines standard *dåmm* and vernacular *int* and so on. The effect of

age on the use of either variety was remarkable. Thelander (1982:80–83) found that the old age group of over 50 years were consistent dialect users in all three styles. The young age group which consists of 8 20-year-old schoolchildren used the regional standard throughout. And the under 40 year-olds varied both the standard dialect and the regional standard in their speech. (Style was generally unimportant in this respect for all groups.)

Evidence from Arabic sociolinguistic research, especially on the effect of age in intervernacular accommodation, is virtually non-existent. However, Shorrab (1981:142–43) briefly remarked in his study of Palestinian Arabic that the older Fallahi informants never switched their speech to the urban or Madani variety. And as he puts it:

... the older Fallahi respondents did not try to use the Madani variant [?] nor did they switch to the 'Madani' variety in any one feature.

But some of his younger Fallahi informants did switch to the urban variety and we will refer to them in a later section of this chapter.

Despite the cumulative evidence from our study and the other ones as to the differential behaviour of the young and the old in the acquisition of or accommodation to new vernacular forms, we cannot exactly determine at least in our own study the cut-off age beyond which the immigrants cease to learn the host vernacular, DA. Our study was limited in its sample to those who arrived either very late or very early in the host community. Between the arrival ages of 13 and 40, we have no available data. But our evidence suggests that the age 12 is no hindrance to the acquisition of new speech habits. Also we found no differences between those who arrived at three or twelve years of age. Kerswill (1985) found that his immigrants who arrived as 18-year-olds in Bergen were able to acquire the new or host dialect. Finally, it has to be noted that age by itself is not the sole factor responsible for the non-acquisition of new speech forms by the elderly (for a critical questioning of this issue see Fledge 1987).

The second point to be considered regarding the nature and range of style shift as far as age is concerned in this study is reading styles. In contrast to their inability to accommodate to their local interlocutors in ILS, the old group were able to switch to the

standard variety in both WLS and QRS. They were equal to the young group in their categorical use of the standard form [q] in this respect. The use of QRS has proved very useful. In many sociolinguistic studies the problem of illiteracy in old informants has resulted in not administering reading tests for this group of people (e.g. L. Milroy 1980:100; Al-Amadihi 1985). Although this problem has been solved in this study, it has to be noted that this was only a partial solution as there were some old speakers who were not able to recite anything.

7.2.3 The Social Parameter of Sex

7.2.3.1 Introduction

The reflection of gender differentiation in language use is one of the most interesting aspects of sociolinguistic research. Since Labov (1966, 1972a) first launched his pioneering work of New York City, the literature on sex has proliferated so much so that it is beyond the scope of any single work, let alone this thesis, to review it all here. What I will be doing in this introduction is give an eclectic airing to the general trends and patterns thus far discovered.

The central issue in sexual differentiation in speech is the use of standard versus vernacular forms. Women are generally held to favour the former over the latter. As Labov (1972a:243) puts it:

There is a regular aspect of the social stratification of stable variables ... In careful speech, women use fewer stigmatized forms than men ... and are more sensitive than men to the prestige patterns ... This observation is confirmed innumerable times.

This principle has been supported by many sociolinguistic studies. For instance, Wolfram (1969), one of the first sociolinguists to replicate Labov's study in an American setting, found that females in Detroit used the prestigious [r]—pronunciation more often than men, as is shown in Table 7.11 below.

Table 7.11. Percentage of [r]—absence by Class and Sex in Detroit, USA

Social Class	Men	Women
UMC	33.33	10.00
LMC	47.50	30.00
UWC	80.00	55.80
LWC	75.00	68.30

Source: Wolfram 1969:117)

Table 7.11 shows that women in each case pronounce the non—prestigious \emptyset form of /r/ less often than men. In other words, they are more sensitive to prestigious speech than men.

In his study of Norwich English in the U.K., Trudgill (1974) found the same general pattern of sex differentiation for almost all the linguistic variables he investigated. As an example, his results for the variable (ng) are shown in Table 7.12 below.

Table 7.12 Percentages for (ng) by Class, Style, and Sex in Norwich

	WLS	RPS	FS	CS
MMC M	000	000	004	031
F	000	000	000	000
LMC M	000	020	027	017
F	000	000	003	067
UWC M	000	018	081	095
F	011	013	068	077
MWC M	024	043	091	097
F	020	046	081	088
LWC M	066	100	100	100
F	017	054	097	100

Source: Trudgill 1974:94.

Table 7.12 shows that, on the whole, women in Norwich use fewer of the stigmatized or non-standard forms than men. However, there are a few exceptions to that. In CS LMC women utilize the non-prestigious [n]-form more than men which should be otherwise. Trudgill discarded this difference as unrepresentative due to the fact that only few instances were elicited in this style. This also explains why the non-standard [n]-form is unexpectedly higher in RPS and FS than in CS in the speech of the males of the same group.

In his explanation of why women in Norwich favour standard speech over non-standard speech, Trudgill (1974:94-95) gave two reasons which could be briefly summarized as follows. First, women are more status-conscious and are more aware of the social significance of language use due to (i) their insecure and subordinate social position to that of men, and (ii) the rating of men by their occupation while women are rated by their appearance. Therefore, speech for women is one such compensatory means of signalling social rank. Secondly, the association of non-standard speech with working-class culture which is noted for its toughness and roughness as affable masculine characteristics makes women alternatively look for and prefer sophistication and refinement which often go with middle-class values. None of the two reasons, as a matter of fact, exhausts, as Trudgill himself admitted, the full range of other possibilities as well. (For other solutions and suggestions, see Wardhaugh 1986:308-12.)

The sensitivity of women to stigmatized speech has also been replicated in other sociolinguistic studies carried out in a number of urban British centres such as Glasgow (Macaulay 1977), Belfast (Milroy and Milroy 1978; L. Milroy 1980; Harris 1985), West Yorkshire including the cities of Huddersfield, Bradford and Halifax (Petyt 1985) and Reading (Cheshire 1982), etc. In all such studies men were found to generally favour non-standard speech more than women do.

In some parts of the world, sex differentiation in language use has not been found important at all. In Scandinavian countries, this is generally so. For instance, Thelander (1982), in his study of Burträsk, a northern Swedish community, found no gender

differences of any importance on twelve variables in three speech styles. As he puts it (1982:83):

A person's sex ... is of secondary importance as far as language use is concerned.

The same pattern has also been repeated in Kerswill's (1985:132–38; 151–52, 160) investigation of rural immigrants' speech in Bergen, Norway. For all his three linguistic variables from three levels of linguistic analysis: one morpholexical including 23 subvariables (Morpholexical Index), one segmental (Schwa–lowering), and one suprasegmental (Toneme Perception), no sex differences of any significance were found. Whether this is due to the egalitarian nature of the Scandinavian communities is not known and neither Thelander nor Kerswill pursued this possibility.

In other parts of the world the picture is totally different. In Brazil, for example, sex differentiation patterns are totally reversed. Bortoni–Ricardo (1985) examined in her study of rural immigrants who moved into an urban centre called Brazlândia located 43km from Brasilia how their original non–standard rural speech gave way to standard urban speech. She found that in her analysis of the four linguistic variables men were in the lead in the acquisition of the new urban speech patterns. She summarized this situation as follows:

We have been arguing throughout this study ... that the male migrants are in the lead in the process of adjustment to the new urban environment, as well as being more exposed to the mainstream culture than the female migrants. The SVA–1 rule (subject–verb agreement with first person plural) can be considered as the best linguistic diagnostic variable of this state of affairs of all the four variables that were included in the present study. (Bortoni–Ricardo 1985:213) (Parentheses mine.)

Evidence on sex differentiation patterns from Arabic sociolinguistic studies can at best be described as inconclusive and at worst misleading. One main reason for this is that, although there have appeared so far seven sociolinguistic studies of Arabic–speaking communities, two of which (Holes 1980, 1981, 1983; Al–Amadihi 1985) have ignored gender altogether. The latter even did not include one single woman in his sample. The other five which include Schmidt (1974), El–Hassan (1978), Sallam (1980), Shorrab (1981), and Abdel–Jawad (1981) failed in my view to point out correctly the exact role

of women in language use and change in the Arab world. Although I will take the opportunity to refer to these studies later, I will confine myself, for the moment, to give one example and that is from El-Hassan (1978).

El-Hassan's (1978) study handled the problem of sociolinguistic variation in the demonstrative system in Arabic from implicational and variable perspectives. Sex was disproportionately represented where he included only 17 women in his exclusively-educated sample of 90 speakers from five Arab countries including Jordan and Palestine, Syria, Lebanon and Egypt. The distribution of the standard and non-standard forms of the demonstrative pronoun (Haadha) 'this' by sex, style, and nationality are summarized in Table 7.13 below.

Table 7.13 Percentages for (Haadha) by Nationality, Sex and Style in Arabic

	With one's educated			With Educated non-fellow			
	fellow countrymen			countrymen			
	Standard	Non-standard	No.	Standard	Non-standard	No.	
Jordanians							
M (20)	82.96	17.04	135	(14)	82.98	17.02	47
F (4)	10.00	90.00	10	(1)	00.00	100.00	11
Egyptians							
M (13)	17.12	87.88	132	(8)	9.00	91.00	100
F (30)	10.52	89.48	19	(2)	00.00	100.00	33
Syrians							
M (0)	00.00	00.00	000	(11)	65.00	35.00	80
F (0)	00.00	00.00	000	(6)	12.12	87.88	33
Lebanese							
M (0)	00.00	00 00	000	(7)	14.86	85.14	74
F (0)	00.00	00.00	000	(1)	00.00	100.00	3

Source: adapted from El-Hassan 1978: Tables 1, 3, 13, 15, 25 and 31

respectively.

Table 7.13 shows that educated Arab women use the standard forms of the demonstrative pronoun less often than men in every single case. And this led El-Hassan (1978:53) to conclude that:

While sex differences in speech exist in the Arabic-speaking world, the evidence presented above suggests that educated Arab women are by no means initiators of linguistic change. In almost every case, it is the men — not the women — who use the 'most advanced forms' and 'correct more sharply' to the acrolectal end of the continuum.

The implications to be derived, finally, from sex patterns in language use contribute directly to the issue of language change (in progress) in which women are generally held to be the innovators and leaders (Labov 1972a:301–304; Chambers and Trudgill 1980:97). In New York City, for example, Labov (1972a:75) has shown that the variable (eh) or simply tense short /æh/ as in pass, aunt, etc., is involved in raising and has a number of phonetic variants ranging on a continuum of height from the highest [i] to the lowest [a:]. Labov (1972a:302) compared men's and women's scores on (eh) and found that in casual speech the most advanced or higher forms were used by women but in word list style they shifted more than men to the acrolectal end of the continuum (i.e. the lower forms). As he puts it (1972a:301):

Women use the most advanced forms in their own casual speech, and correct more sharply to the other extreme in their formal speech.

However, the fact that women generally lead in linguistic change need not always obtain in every case. Labov (1972a:303) rightly argued that:

It would be a serious error to construct a general principle that women always lead in the course of linguistic change ... The correct generalization is not that women lead in linguistic change, but rather that the sexual differentiation of speech often plays a major role in the mechanism of linguistic evolution.

On Martha's Vineyard, for instance, which is quoted on the same page as the quotation above, centralization of the first element of the diphthongs /ay/ and /aw/ was primarily led by men and not by women. The literature is full of similar cases some of which will be referred to later.

After this brief review, we can now proceed to the analysis of the variable (q) in immigrant speech.

7.2.3.2 The Variable (q) and Sex

7.2.3.2.1 Aim and Scope

The aim of analyzing (q) by sex in this study is to achieve the following objectives. First, to discover whether there exists any language differences between immigrants of both sexes. Secondly, to see whether in the presence of such differences, it is the males or females who shift their linguistic behaviour the most. Thirdly, to see whether in immigrant speech in general sex differences are important in furthering linguistic change since in immigrant studies (Payne 1980; Kerswill 1985; Bortoni–Ricardo 1985) sex differences were contradictory. And finally, to see whether our data support the findings of previous sociolinguistic studies in Arabic.

It goes without saying that the results that will be derived from analyzing the variable (q) are not in themselves enough to settle the above issues. Therefore, the strengths or the weaknesses of many of the claims to be made below will depend on the pieces of evidence to be arrived at in the analysis of the other variables in the succeeding chapters.

7.2.3.2.2 Sex and Education

7.2.3.2.2.1 Presentation and Description of the Results

The results for (q) by education, style, and sex are set out in Table 7.14 below.

Table 7.14 Percentages for (q) by Education, Style and Sex

1.	IIS	[q]	[ʔ]	[g]	[j]
NE	M	17.40	00.00	75.92	6.68
	F	6.14	1.86	87.56	4.44
PE	M	11.62	1.10	79.78	7.50
	F	8.20	0.92	87.08	3.80
SE	M	27.22	3.60	65.58	3.60
	F	23.94	00.00	64.80	11.26
UE	M	30.38	0.42	63.00	6.20
	F	26.68	0.48	70.40	2.44

2.	ILS				
NE	M	24.52	3.78	67.00	4.70
	F	12.32	85.50	2.18	00.00
PE	M	41.12	51.52	7.36	00.00
	F	10.42	79.18	10.40	00.00
SE	M	81.94	17.34	0.36	0.36
	F	23.94	76.06	00.00	00.00
UE	M	55.44	43.06	1.50	00.00
	F	29.16	70.46	0.38	00.00
*UE	M	24.30	74.02	0.56	1.12
	F	25.34	74.66	00.00	00.00

3.	WLS				
PE	M	100.00	00.00	00.00	00.00
	F	100.00	00.00	00.00	00.00
SE	M	100.00	00.00	00.00	00.00
	F	100.00	00.00	00.00	00.00
UE	M	100.00	00.00	00.00	00.00
	F	100.00	00.00	00.00	00.00

4.	QRS				
NE	M	100.00	00.00	00.00	00.00
	F	100.00	00.00	00.00	00.00

It is clearly shown in Table 7.14 that the distribution of the linguistic variants across the social groups and speech styles differs with sex. In IIS [g] is favoured over [q], and the latter over [j]. [ʔ] is negligible for all. There is a split of the social groups into two: an LG (i.e. NE and PE), and an MG (i.e. SE and UE). Within each of the larger groupings the differences between the sexes are too little to warrant any conclusions as to whether gender X favours feature Y. The qualitative differences between men's and women's scores on the standard form [q] in favour of men are made up for or balanced by the fact that women use the immigrant sub-variant [j] less often than men with the exception of the SE females whose higher [j] score is due to the fact that only a few

number of instances were elicited. Generally speaking, men and women are equal as to their preference for the non-standard features that are characteristic of their IGFA (i.e. [g] and [j]), disfavours of the local feature [ʔ] and whatever little use of the standard speech form [q].

In ILS the above picture is reversed in terms of both the dominance of which particular variant(s) and its/their association with gender. The local variant [ʔ] is used the most except for the NE and SE men who favour [g] and [q] respectively. [j] is very little used and by the NE men only. Women of all the educational groups prefer [ʔ] the most and by not less than 70% in each case. The lowest-ranking women use it the most as opposed to the highest-ranking ones who use it the least. While [q] remains constant for all women, [g] and [j] are dropped altogether except for a minor percentage on the former by the LG women.

Unlike women, men are not in agreement with one another as to which variant they should aim at. There is the NE men who still favour the immigrant form [g] and make the least use of the local one [ʔ]. In contrast to the NE men are the SE men who, like the UE ones, suppress [g] but favour the standard form [q] to [ʔ], the local variant. The PE men are a mirror-image of the UE men: the former favour the local variant [ʔ] as much as the latter favour the standard one [q].

Thus men and women stratify differently. For men all social groups can be distinguished: the lower the social status the greater the use of IGFA features and the higher the social status, the greater the use of SA features. An exception to this is the SE men who use [q] the most. Women, on the contrary, show less or even blurred social stratification. Their split into two larger groups, an LG and an MG, in IIS is still maintained in ILS without any modifications.

The local group shows no sex differences as to their predominant use of their colloquial variant [ʔ]. In this way, they resemble the immigrants in IIS above.

Finally, men and women in reading word list style and recitation style, equally utilize the standard feature [q] categorically. As such both sexes are equal with respect to both absence of social stratification or the use of the standard form.

7.2.3.2.2.2 Interpretation and Discussion of the Results

Two points deserve more discussion which relate to the nature of sex roles from the viewpoint of (i) social stratification and (ii) style shift. These are taken up one by one below.

First, social stratification and sex. It is shown in Table 7.14 above that in conversational speech but not in reading styles, the sexes stratify differently on the educational scale. Women maintain in both IIS and ILS their social division into two groups, an LG and an MG, and with a very narrow gap of about 20% inbetween the two extremes of the educational continuum. Men, although they split into an LG and an MG in IIS, redefine their social positions more sharply in ILS so that the four educational groups can be distinguished. Unlike women, the amount of difference for the men's educational groups regarding their scores on any variant is very large especially at the extreme end—points of the social scale.

Our results thus contrast in an interesting way with European and North American sociolinguistic findings in at least two ways. First, in Trudgill's (1974:94) study of Norwich English, England, and Wolfram's (1969:117) of Detroit American English quoted above (7.2.3.1), women, like men, enlarged their social status differences and all four social classes, especially in the case of Wolfram, can be distinguished. In this study we have seen how only men increased their social distinctions and kept them apart, while women maintained or reduced them. Secondly, the hypercorrect pattern of the next highest group in ILS encountered above (7.2.1.2) is sex—based: i.e., only men but not women can hypercorrect. This runs counter to Labov's (1972a:243) statement that the hypercorrect or crossover pattern of the lower middle class is particularly marked for women who use the standard forms the most.

There is very little evidence on social stratification and the role of the sexes in it in Arabic sociolinguistic studies. Only Abdel—Jawad (1981) split his Jordanian sample stratificationally into three educational groups: the college—, high school—, and non—educated. Although he himself did not comment on the social differentiation patterns by sex, some of his data bears a close resemblance to the picture portrayed in

this study. For instance, his analysis of the variable (q) (summarized pp.318; 242) shows that women used the standard form [q] less often than men and split in each of his three speech styles into two groups: the college- and high school-educated, on the one hand, versus the uneducated, on the other. The difference between the extreme ends of the educational scale for women did not exceed 31% in formal style and 12% in casual style. For men all three social groups were distinguished. In formal style, the uneducated were separated from the college-educated by 84% and from the high school-educated by 60%. The two higher educated groups were divided from each other by 20%.

The tendency of Arab and particularly the immigrant Syrian women towards lack of sharp and clear-cut social differentiation especially as borne out by and as far as their language use is concerned, does not imply that they all 'appear' the same in every respect to use Trudgill's terms. A better term would be that Arab women function differently: i.e. their social activities and pre-occupations rather than their appearances both inside and outside of the home, at work, etc. which relate them to their immediate surroundings (e.g. family, children, home) in different ways are probably a better indicator of their social status than language. To give an example, in his study of reading problems in English as a foreign language that face twelve-year-olds (equally divided by sex) in their first preparatory school-year in eight official schools in Damascus City, Syria, Hasan (1983:82-85) found that children of lower-status occupations and illiterate mothers had more difficulties in learning English than did those of professional and university-educated mothers. One's father's education and occupation, however, did not have any significant effects on children's learning. That is, Arab women reflect their social standing in their role especially as educators of their own offspring.

Although I perfectly agree with Trudgill's interpretation that men are rated by their jobs and occupations, his statement relating to women as being rated by their appearances is not supported by our data. The slight differences in women's speech and their blurred social divisions cast doubts on his claim as was shown in Table 7.14 above. Arab women, though they also might appear differently, are rated by what they do but not as much outside in their jobs as inside in their own homes, such as the education of their

children.

Secondly, the nature of style shifting and the sexes. The participation of men and women of every educational group in style shifting across the three or four stylistic levels as was shown in Table 7.14 above is very clear. An exception to this is the NE men who did not shift their speech in ILS to any considerable extent.

The direction towards which language shifting is effected is largely determined by addressee- and reading-based considerations. In reading styles (i.e. WLS and QRS) shift takes place towards the standard without any differences between the sexes. In conversational styles (i.e. IIS and ILS) the situation is complicated as the speakers have to choose between the immigrant form [g] and the standard form [q] in IIS as well as the local form [ʔ] in ILS. In IIS it is natural that the immigrant speakers preferred their original vernacular features especially [g] to the other variants since in this speech situation the addressee and the speaker were all immigrants and the topics discussed were of the everyday type.

But in ILS the linguistic situation is further complicated by the availability of at least two speech-codes for the immigrants to choose from: DA [ʔ] and SA [q]. The choice of either variant was socially constrained as far as sex is concerned. Women all favoured greatly the local speech variant [ʔ] over the standard or immigrant variants [q] and [g] respectively. Men varied their use between [q], [ʔ], and [g], the preference of either of which depends on the social status of the speakers with the NE favouring [g], the PE [ʔ], the SE [q] and the UE both [q] and [ʔ]. In other words, women lead in accommodating their speech away from IGFA and SA towards that of their local interlocutors in the main while men lingered behind in this respect although they also lead in different ways, especially towards the standard as is the case with the SE.

Now what does the competition between the use of especially the standard form [q] and the local form [ʔ] by the two sexes in ILS mean? Or what do the different accommodation sex patterns in ILS signify? Very simply, sound change in progress (see 7.2.3.1) It is not difficult to find similar cases in the sociolinguistic literature in which rival variants are opted for differently by men and women. One such example is

Romaine's (1978) study of postvocalic /r/ in Edinburgh. In Scottish English, /r/ has three pronunciations: a tap, a roll, and zero – the latter being the RP form while the former two, especially the second, are Scottish English variants. Although her results (1978:150) showed that both boys and girls were predominantly rhotic, it was the girls who favoured the roll (51%) and the boys the tap (54%). This she interpreted as innovation in which both sexes are involved. As she puts it,

Both males and females seem to be innovating ... and the females are quite clearly the innovators in a prestige form. The males, interestingly enough, are innovating in a direction away from the local educated Scots prestige norm, but in accepting r-lessness their usage happens to coincide with a much larger national norm ... The females, however, are clearly more concerned with the pressure exerted by the local norms and asserting their status within the Edinburgh social structure. (Romaine 1978:156)

Also Trudgill (1974:108–9, also 1986:42) mentioned a similar, though more complicated, case involving the variable (O) in Norwich in which WC women opted for the standard form less often than men, while MC women used the standard form more frequently than men of the same class. This he interpreted as sound change in progress.

To sum up, the variable (q), like the variable /r/ in Scottish English, has an interesting, though irregular, sex pattern in which men and women are innovating in two directions: men are innovating towards the standard and national norm [q] in general while women towards the local vernacular norm [ʔ]. Therefore, both norms are prestigious, though one overt, one covert respectively. However, while Romaine's women adopt their own local form, the roll, instead of the standard national norm, the zero form, in this study both men and women are moving away from their own original immigrant form [g] in favour of, especially in the case of women, the local form [ʔ].

Now we turn to a comparison of the findings of this study with those of previous Arabic sociolinguistic studies.

Most Arabic sociolinguistic studies, if not all of them, regard women's role whether in the use of the standard forms or in linguistic change as secondary to men's. These studies are surveyed one by one. In his study of Egyptian Arabic, Schmidt (1974:86), quoted in Abdel-Jawad (1981:311), found that in casual and careful speech women students at the American University at Cairo (AUC) used the vernacular form [ʔ] more

often than not only their fellow male students but also the non-university-educated males who were recruited from a coffee house in a WC area in Cairo. In reading styles [q] was categorical for all, however. Sallam's (1980:95) study of the variable (q) in a sample of 20 educated Arab nationals from five countries showed that women favoured the urban vernacular form [ʔ] (54%) over the standard form [q] (44%) and the rural vernacular forms [k] (2%) and [g] (0%) while men preferred the standard form [q] (65%) to the urban form [ʔ] (28%), and the rural forms [k] (2%) and [g] (5%). In Palestinian Arabic, Shorrab (1981:141) found that men made more frequent use of the standard form [q] while women favoured the urban vernacular form [ʔ] in conversational speech; however, in reading styles, the standard variant [q] was categorical for everyone.

Despite the regularity of these sex patterns in Arabic sociolinguistics, they have been severely misinterpreted. We have already seen how El-Hassan (1978:53) described Arab women as incapable of assuming their roles as leaders in linguistic change and correction towards the acrolect. Abdel-Jawad (1981) devoted one chapter of his thesis to sex and arrived at a similar position by concluding that (1981:332):

Women in the Middle Eastern communities in general do not lead in linguistic change towards the standard forms. A standard form is associated with formality, public life and the outside world which are not the domain for women. Instead women look for social prestige attained through adopting the urban variants ... [which] are socially evaluated as soft, gentle, light and feminine by the speech community.

In what follows, I will argue why this misinterpretation took place in the first place and how it originated. El-Hassan's analysis can be criticised on many counts. First, the sexes are not equally represented in his sample. There are 17 women out of total of 90 speakers. secondly, it is not always true that Arab men use the correct form of the demonstrative system more often than women. In the Egyptian and Lebanese cases, for instance, men and women made more or less equal and semi-categorical use of the non-standard forms (Table 7.13 above). Thirdly, in some cases women either produced no tokens at all or as few as one and in no case more than eleven (see e.g. his Tables 1 on p.34 and 3 on p.38 respectively) Fourthly, he discarded one case as unrepresentative in which one woman (see his Table 25 p.44) produced 4 instances all of

which were standard. Finally, grammatical variables, unlike phonetic ones, are less sensitive to social and even stylistic differences and would thus tend to be associated with qualitative rather than quantitative differences (Wolfram 1969:204; Cheshire 1987). (In Chapter 8 we will come across one morphophonemic variable that sheds further light on this last question.)

Abdel-Jawad's (1981) analysis is also unsound and invalid for a number of reasons. First, it is an undue overgeneralisation about the whole Middle East at a time in which there was no conclusive and representative evidence on the sociolinguistic situation of the area. Only three studies (Schmidt 1974; El-Hassan 1978; Sallam 1980) were carried out before his own, all of which were concerned with the educated section of the community and thus unrepresentative. Secondly, it is not true that the standard form [q] is used less often by women than men. For example, in reading styles, men and women were equal as to their categorical use of it in Palestinian Arabic (Shorrab 1981:138), Egyptian Arabic (Schmidt 1974:86) and in this study of Syrian immigrants; in casual speech in all of these studies both sexes were found to favour the nonstandard features over the standard ones; in formal speech, the non-standard features were also favoured by both sexes and whatever differences there existed in their speech these were minimal and did not exceed 10% or 15% as were the cases with Shorrab's and Schmidt's analyses for (q). For generalizations to hold, they should be based on consistent and recurrent patterns and not on fragmented evidence as Abdel-Jawad did.

The main problem with El-Hassan's and Abdel-Jawad's analyses lies in the fact they missed the correct path of linguistic change in the Arabic-speaking world and are thus guilty of ascribing a passive role for women in it. Linguistic change need not always be towards the standard. In the Arabic-speaking world linguistic change can be effected towards the standard, a change which is often enforced by the educational and political establishments, and can also be equally effected towards other vernaculars with and without the standard being involved, as usually happens in everyday conversations amongst people of different dialects. We have seen in this study how the standard variety was favoured in WLS and QRS while the vernaculars were favoured in conversational speech: the local

vernacular in ILS and the immigrant vernacular in IIS although in conversational speech all three dialects were intermingled. Sex roles were very crucial in this respect especially in ILS where women all preferred the local variant to the standard and immigrant ones, while men opted for different speech variants depending on their status. That is, both sexes innovated in two different directions both of which were away from the original immigrant dialect: one was towards the local dialect in the case of women, one was towards the standard in the case of men. Without the development of an appropriate sociolinguistic methodology which was basically addressee-oriented rather than questionnaire-based, the sociolinguistic situation of inter-vernacular shifting in our immigrants would have lost much of its delicacy and intricacy. The interesting use of the local variant [ʔ] would not have been possible to be observed and recorded had it not been for the role of the local addressee in this matter.

Inter-vernacular shifting can be observed and recorded in normal interviews (Payne 1980; Kerswill 1985; Bortoni-Ricardo 1985). These studies showed how immigrants in Philadelphia, Bergen and Brazilandia acquired the local dialects. There is also some evidence from Shorrab's (1981) and Abdel-Jawad's (1981) studies that intervernacular shifting does take place among Arabic dialects with women having the greater role in it. Shorrab (1981:145) found that of the three Palestinian social groups involved: the Madani [ʔ]-users, the Fallahi [k]-users, and the Bedouin [g]-users, only Fallahi females switched to the Madani variety and on 95% of the occasions in casual and careful speech. None of the others changed their original speech at the intervernacular level. Abdel-Jawad's (1981:321-2) study has also shown that in Amman, Jordan:

- (i) Madani women did not shift to Bedouin or Fallahi varieties at all while Madani men shifted to Bedouin [g] by 9%. Both sexes favoured their original vernacular variant [ʔ] with women (77%) using it more often than men (46%);
- (ii) Bedouin women shifted to the Madani variety 46% of the time while Bedouin men only 4%. Also Bedouin women made less use of their original variant [g] (30%) than Bedouin men (61%). None shifted to the Fallahi variety;
- (iii) Fallahi women shifted to the Madani variety by 26% whereas Fallahi men only 1%.

Also Fallahi males shifted to the Bedouin variety by 11%. Moreover, Fallahi women made more frequent use of their original variant [k] (46%) than men (29%); and (iv) shifting to the standard was favoured by men oftener than women. Madani, Bedouin and Fallahi women realized [q] 23%, 24%, and 28% respectively while men 45%, 35% and 59% respectively.

This is what really takes place in the Arab speech communities. Linguistic change is very much a consequence of interdialectal or intervernacular contact in normal conversations. Arab sociolinguists have so far been unable to point to the importance of this type of linguistic change as a result of their slavish application of the standard Labovian techniques especially in data collection and the portrayal of language shift and/or variation as one involving one vernacular and one standard. And in fact what is true of New York City might not be true of everywhere else in the world.

To summarize, in describing the sociolinguistic situation of style shifting in this study it has been shown that Syrian men and women immigrants (i) have corrected equally sharply towards the standard in WLS and QRS, (ii) were more or less equal with respect to their relatively slight usage of the standard form [q] in IIS, and (iii) were innovating in different directions in ILS with women greatly favouring the local vernacular and men varying their usage of all three dialects depending on their social or educational status. But if a general principle is to be made out of this picture, it can be said that it is the women who lead in the course of linguistic change, especially the one towards the local vernacular.

7.2.3.2.3 Sex and the Old Group

The above discussion was mainly based on the speech of the young immigrants since educational status applies to them exclusively. Now we shall look briefly at the sex patterns of the old age group.

7.2.3.2.3.1 Presentation and Description of the Results for the Old Group

The percentages for (q) by style and sex for the old group are given in Table 7.15 below.

Table 7.15 Percentages for (q) by Style and Sex in the Old Age Group

1. IIS	[q]	[ʔ]	[g]	[j]	No.
M	9.28	0.58	73.48	16.66	1003
F	1.04	0.00	84.20	14.76	481

2. ILS					
M	9.58	3.60	75.56	11.26	720
F	0.44	0.22	85.68	13.66	454

3. WLS					
M	100.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	
F	00.00	00 00	00 00	00 00	

4. QRS					
M	93.75	00.00	6.25	00.00	
F	100.00	00.00	00 00	00.00	

Table 7.15 shows that in conversational styles old men and women are undifferentiated with respect to their accommodation to different addressees. That is, their scores on the various variants remain unchanged in both IIS and ILS. The small percentage of the standard form [q] in men's speech compared to women's is insignificant because this is due to educational factors. Two of the old males were semi-literate (i.e. able to read and write) and so they contributed nearly all the [q]—scores. When these two cases were omitted, the number of [q] tokens were as few as 10 at the most, most of which were produced by the females.

In reading styles, old men and women are equal with respect to their categorical pronunciation of the standard feature [q] except for a minor exception in the men's score

in QRS in which [g], the non-standard immigrant variant, was used a little bit.

These results lead us to conclude that, all being equal, old men and women are equal with regard to the degree of their use of the standard and intervernacular shift. This is another compelling evidence against El-Hassan's (1978) and Abdel-Jawad's (1981) conclusions discussed above. They also give further support to our own position taken up in the previous section. Analysis of the other variables in the rest of this thesis will be hoped to give confirmation to the conclusions arrived at concerning immigrant sex patterns described in this as well as in the above section.

7.2.4 The Social Parameter of Area

7.2.4.1 Introduction

The spread of language variation can be geographical or areal. Although this has been the subject proper of rural or traditional dialectology (Orton and Dieth 1962-71; Kurath 1939), Labov (1963, 1972a:ch.1) made use of geographical differences in his study of centralization in Martha's Vineyard which he subjected to his quantitative methods. Since then, many sociolinguists have utilized the social parameter of area in their studies (e.g. L. Milroy 1980; Milroy and Milroy 1985; Harris 1985; Petyt 1985; Fraser 1983, etc.). In all the purpose of studying language variation areally and geographically is to ascertain the extent to which different areas influence the diffusion of linguistic variation and change.

For instance, Petyt (1985) has systematically examined geographical variations in the dialect of West Yorkshire English amongst the three towns investigated – namely, Bradford, Halifax and Huddersfield. Many linguistic variables were included, both phonetic and syntactic. One such feature is the contraction of auxiliary verbs when followed by a negative particle in words like can't /ka:nt/ which contracts to /ka:t/ and which he symbolised as (XV:nt)) > (XV:t). His results on auxiliary contractions by area and style are given in Table 7.16 below.

Table 7.16 Percentages for Auxiliary Contractions (XV:nt > XV:t) in West Yorkshire by area and style.

	Casual	Careful	Reading
Bradford	76	46	7
Halifax	47	33	8
Huddersfield	46	31	9

Source: Petyt 1985:188; also 1978:98.

Table 7.16 shows that, although all the three towns contract the auxiliary forms, contractions vary from town to town and from style to style. Bradford contracts oftener than both Halifax and Huddersfield which are undifferentiated from each other. Also contractions occur more frequently in casual speech than in careful speech and are negligible in reading style.

Most Arabic sociolinguistic studies have also investigated the influence of area on linguistic variation. In El-Hassan (1978) and Sallam (1980) area coincides with one's country of origin or nationality such as Syria, Palestine, Jordan, Lebanon and Egypt. It can also indirectly refer to the social origin of some groups such as Madanis (urban dwellers), Fallaheens (village dwellers), and Bedouins (desert dwellers) in Shorrab's (1981) and Abdel-Jawad's (1981) studies of Palestinian and Jordanian Arabic respectively. Or it can simply mean the urban/rural divide (Holes 1981, 1983). Holes examined the spread of the variable (q) which can be pronounced as [q], the standard form, and [g], the vernacular form, amongst rural and urban Shii dwellers in Bahrain. His results for the maintenance of the vernacular variant [g] in urban and rural Shiites are shown in Table 7.17 below.

Table 7.17 Percentage of [g] Maintenance by Urban and Rural Shiites in Bahraini Arabic

	Illiterates	Literates
Urban Shiites	.77	.48
Rural Shiites	.97	.39

Source: based on Holes 1983:449.

Table 7.17 shows that the retention of the vernacular form is higher in rural than in urban areas. The influence of literacy is also clear: literate Shiites show less variation (.9) than illiterate Shiites (.20). Moreover, rural literates unexpectedly use [g] slightly less often than urban literates.

7.2.4.2 The Variable (q) and Area in This Study

7.2.4.2.1 Aim and Scope

The purpose of this section is to see whether the young immigrants who reside in Damascus City (urban or inner city immigrants) are differentiated from those who live outside but very close to it (suburban or outer city immigrants) with respect to their language maintenance and shift. It goes without saying that urban and suburban Damascus are one dialect area as has already been shown in our phonological description of the speech of the area (Ch.5).

7.2.4.2.2 Presentation and Description of the Results

The distribution of the variable (q) by area and style is set out in Table 7.18 below.

Table 7.18 Percentages for the Variable (q) by Area and Style

1. IIS	[q]	[?]	[g]	[j]	No.
Urban	23.00	00.90	71.50	4.60	779
Suburban	17.84	1.24	75.68	5.24	1777
2. ILS					
Urban	39.64	54.26	6.10	00.00	492
Suburban	36.64	49.36	13.08	00.92	1185
3. WLS					
Urban	100.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	
Suburban	100.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	
4. QRS					
Urban	100.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	
Suburban	100.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	

Table 7.18 shows that there is very little and insignificant differentiation between urban and suburban immigrants in conversational styles and none at all in reading styles. In IIS, both favour their original immigrant vernacular form [g] over the standard form [q] and the hardly used local form [?]. But in the second speech style [?] is favoured over [q] and [g] is negligible.

The local group has also shown no differences amongst themselves when divided into urban and suburban dwellers. Both favoured their local variant [?] (urbans = 74.48; suburbans = 75.64) over the standard variant [q] (urbans = 25.52; suburbans = 22.10).

7.2.4.2.3 Discussion and Interpretation of the Results

The insignificance of the social parameter of area in the differentiation of the speech of urban and suburban immigrants is due to the fact that both the inner and outer areas of Damascus share the same dialect at least as far as (q) is concerned.

7.3 Summary

In this chapter we have been concerned with describing a tri-dialectal contact situation involving the variable (q) which distinguishes non-standard immigrant speech through the use of [g] and [j] from non-standard local speech through the use of [ʔ] and standard speech through the use of [q]. The usage of (one) speech variant(s) rather than another has been found to vary with a number of social parameters and stylistic contexts. The main points in this regard can be summarized as follows.

1. Education and Social Differentiation. Social differentiation by education varied by style. There was a split into two large groups: an LG and an MG, in IIS; all four groups could be identified in ILS; and in WLS and QRS no social divisions existed amongst the educational groups. A hypercorrect pattern has been noted for the next highest group in ILS which indicates sound change in progress.

2. Apparent time and real time. Our results have shown that the differential speech behaviour of the young and the old with respect to the maintenance of their original immigrant features [g] and [j] and shift to the local and standard forms [ʔ] and [q] respectively and the lack of the latter two in the earlier description of the pre-immigrant dialect all point to sound change in progress.

3. Sex. Women have been found to stratify differently from men in conversational styles. The latter enlarged their social divisions in ILS so that the four groups could be distinguished while the former maintained their divisions into two, both in IIS and ILS. Also women of the next highest group did not participate in the hypercorrection reported above. As far as their language use is concerned, women were equal to men in correcting to the standard as shown by their behaviour in WLS and QRS or favouring of their immigrant features as in IIS. In ILS, however, women favoured [ʔ], the local variant of their interlocutors, while men varied between principally the standard and local forms [q] and [ʔ] respectively. This was interpreted to denote sound change in progress.

4. Style shift. Style shift occurred as a result of addressee-related effects and reading-based considerations. In the latter, all immigrants favoured the standard pronunciation [q] both in WLS and QRS. In the former, using the standard form [q], the

immigrant one [g] and the local one [ʔ] depended on the speech situation. All immigrants favoured their original variants [g] and [j] over [q] and [ʔ] in IIS though there were slight differences according to the age and educational level of the speakers. But in ILS the population has been most divided. Old men and women and to a lesser extent the non-educated young men, maintained their immigrant speech features either intact or nearly so. All young women of all educational groups shifted to and favoured their local interlocutors' speech form [ʔ] greatly. The three remaining male groups switched in different directions: the highest and next highest groups favoured the standard form [q] with the latter making noticeably greater use of it than the former, and the second lowest favoured [ʔ], the local form.

5. Area. The parameter of area was unimportant as a differentiator between inner and outer city immigrants.

In the next two chapters we take up variables of a different sociolinguistic nature from (q) as to their relationship with the tridialectal continuum. In all the relationship is no longer tridialectal but rather bi-dialectal. That is, on any particular variable either the local vernacular or the immigrant vernacular agrees with the standard variety in their phonetic realization or pronunciation of it. In Chapter 8 we examine three variables that separate standard and local speech, on the one hand, from immigrant speech, on the other. Chapter 9 is devoted to four variables that are just the opposite of those in Chapter 8.

Chapter 8

Non-correction and Correction

8.0 Introduction

We will be concerned in this chapter with a sociolinguistic investigation of three variables – namely, (k), (–k), and (D). These three variables all have non-correct, non-standard pronunciations in IGFA but correct standard ones in DA. Hence the title of the chapter. Thus the influence on divergent IGFA to standardize comes from two converging directions: one from the local vernacular and another from the standard variety. The extent of this influence and the resultant language variation will be examined through the medium of the same social and stylistic parameters of the previous chapter, i.e. education, age, sex, style, and area.

Through the investigation of these variables we will be able to see how the binary standardizing and corrective impact of the standard and the local varieties on the immigrant dialect interact with each other in different ways. At one or two points, it will be seen how correction can be achieved under the single effect of either variety and at another correction can be accomplished mainly under the influence of the local vernacular while that of the standard variety falls short of achieving this end. That is, the local vernacular can have more influence on affecting linguistic change than the standard variety. This point is interesting if we take into account the fact that the majority of the previous sociolinguistic literature described a language contact situation in which the pull towards standardization is exercised by the standard variety proper such as RP in Norwich (Trudgill 1974) and West Yorkshire (Petyt 1985), etc. while only a few studies have demonstrated that this could be effected by a vernacular of a standard status (e.g. Bortoni-Ricardo 1985).

8.1 The Phonological Variable (k)

8.1.1 Introduction

Thus far the variable (k) has been treated in three sociolinguistic studies of Arabic. These are Holes' (1981, 1983) study of Bahraini Arabic, Abdel-Jawad's (1981) study of Jordanian Arabic, and Shorrab's (1981) study of Palestinian Arabic in exile in USA. In all /k/ has two variants: a standard one [k], a voiceless velar plosive, and a vernacular one [ch], a voiceless palatal affricate. Some of their relevant results will be summarized below.

In Bahraini Arabic, Holes was interested in examining in particular the maintenance of the vernacular. Maintaining the stigmatized colloquial form [ch] was found to vary according to such parameters like literacy, sect, and area. Holes (1983:449) has shown that illiterates, whether Sunnis (a sect of Islam) or urban/rural Shiis (another sect of Islam) maintained [ch] categorically in all eligible environments (100% of the time). Literates used the same non-standard form variably. More precisely, Sunni and urban Shii literates utilized [ch] not only equally (91% and 89% each) but also unexpectedly more often than rural Shii literates who used it 61% of the time.

The variation between [k] and [ch] in Palestinian Arabic occurs only in the speech of Fallahin, one of the three social groups studied. Shorrab's (1981:155) results have shown that in reading and word list styles, [k] was categorical (100%) for students and community members. In conversational styles [k] alternated with [ch] the latter of which was less often used by students than by community members. More precisely, students realized [ch] 81.50 and 42.50 in casual and careful speech respectively, and community members used it near-categorically in both styles (93.50 in casual speech and 98.50 in careful speech).

Finally, the usage of the stigmatized vernacular form [ch] in Jordanian Arabic is dwindling and it is mainly found in the speech of one out of three social groups investigated: namely, Fallaheen speakers. Of a total of 53 Fallaheen subjects, 28 used the standard form [k] categorically and 25 variably. The latter were furthermore shown to vary their usage of (k) according to speech style: in formal style the standard variant [k]

was categorical for all (although these included 6 speakers only); in casual speech [k] was realized 44% of the time; and double that percentage in what he called informal style (Abdel-Jawad 1981:292).

It has to be noted that, although in both Palestinian Arabic and Jordanian Arabic, the dialect contact situation involves three vernaculars – i.e. Madani, Bedouin and Fallaheen, all but one of which is stigmatized neither Shorab nor Abdel-Jawad has commented on the standardizing influence of the standard varieties – Madani and Bedouin – on non-standard Fallahi speech. Instead both assumed that correction and standardization occurred under the unilingual influence of the standard. In our subsequent analysis we will show how different 'standard' dialects interact in this connection. In particular, we will show how the 'standard' local vernacular can effect correction considerably greater than the superimposed standard variety.

8.1.2 The Variable (k) in This Study

8.1.2.1 The Variable (k) and Education

8.1.2.1.1 Presentation and Description of the Results by Education

The distribution of (k) by education and style in immigrant speech is shown in Table 8.1 below.

Table 8.1 Percentages for (k) by Education and Style

1. IIS	[k]	[ch]	No.
NE	72.92	27.08	672
PE	75.40	24.60	626
SE	76.56	23.44	448
UE	80.12	19.88	971

2. ILS			
NE	97.26	2.74	438
PE	99.75	0.25	394
SE	100.00	00.00	327
UE	100.00	00.00	586

3. WLS			
PE	100.00	00.00	
SE	100.00	00.00	
UE	100.00	00.00	

4. QRS			
NE	100.00	00.00	

Table 8.1 shows that except for the first speech style the use of the standard variant [k] is categorical for all social groups in all of the speech styles. Even in IIS the standard form [k] is still predominantly favoured by all the educational groups and without any significant differences between them as the scores obtained by especially the two educational extremes which are separated by only 7% show.

8.1.2.1.2 Discussion and Interpretation of the Results

There is no clear-cut evidence that there exists any social stratification amongst the educational groups on the phonetic variable (k). All social groups behave in a like manner as to their tiny retention and avoidance of the original immigrant non-standard speech variant [ch] depending on the speech situation. The variable (k) is a relic form as far as its affricate realization is concerned. That is, it is a relic in the sense that the [ch]-pronunciation will soon die out and vanish from immigrant speech. Trudgill (1974:112-15) reported on three variables in Norwich English which were dying out and had very little social differentiation, if at all. Absence of social variation is not only restricted to relic variables. Kerswill (1985:124) has shown how on one of his variables in his study of immigrant speech patterns in Bergen, Norway, both education and occupation had insignificant effects on the acquisition of the local Bergen form by the immigrants.

However, the variable (k) is involved in stylistic differentiation. Whatever amount of [ch] occurs in IIS, this is due to the fact that both speaker and addressee are immigrants. But when the speech situation was redefined and included a local addressee instead of an immigrant or one involved reading from a word list and reciting from the Holy Quran, the non-standard form [ch] totally disappears from the speech of every social group.

Absence of social stratification but not stylistic variation on the variable (k) provides a counter-example to Trudgill (1974:103) where he claimed that social and stylistic variation obtains for variables that are involved in (a) linguistic change, (b) subject to overt corrective pressures, (c) surface phonological contrasts, and (d) markedly different from prestige accent equivalents. In fact, Trudgill arrived at this statement on the basis of investigating four phonological variables in Norwich English that all showed regular patterns of social variation but lacked stylistic variation almost completely, as in the case of the variable (a:) (Trudgill 1974:98). The variable (k) in this study, although it fulfils almost all of Trudgill's criteria, reverses the picture completely. For instance, [ch] is not only stigmatized but also a stereotype, being the subject of comment and laughter even by the immigrants themselves. Some young immigrant informants were bothered and critical of it. The variant [ch] is also phonetically different from the standard and prestigious

local form [k] with which it is involved in surface phonological contrast. The variable (k) is also involved in linguistic change as we shall see later (8.1.2.2) but shows stylistic variation instead. In section 8.2 of this chapter, we will provide another example on just this point.

Now the standardizing effect of the local vernacular, DA, on immigrant speech can be clearly seen to equal and match that of the standard variety, SA. Both effects are evident in the various speech styles investigated. More precisely, the effect of DA could be seen in ILS and that of SA in WLS and QRS. But this linguistic situation cannot be induced through the medium of all social variables as the variable Age of the next section shows.

Finally, let us turn to a comparison of the variable (k) with (q) of chapter 7 above. A few points of contrast can be mentioned in this regard. First, the agreement of SA and DA on having the same phonetic realization for [k] resulted in an easy task on the part of the immigrants to accommodate to their local addressees to the fullest extent, as can be seen from their ILS scores in Table 8.1 above. This has also been facilitated by the fact that IGFA also applies the standard form [k] to the majority of cases (over 70% at the minimum) while relegating the non-standard feature [ch] to the remaining minority of the cases. This implies that the immigrants need not learn a completely new variant but rather extend their original variant [k] to all possible environments. In the case of (q), the task has been more difficult. Apart from the fact that the immigrants had to learn a completely new variant, namely the local variant [ʔ], they also had to decide whether to use it, subject to stylistic constraints, on its own or in combination with the standard form [q], let alone the immigrant form [g]. And we have already seen how the sexes opted for various solutions in this matter with women favouring [ʔ] and men varying between [q] and [ʔ], etc. Secondly, the acquisition of the local feature [ʔ] was constrained by style where it could only be used in speech situations involving the immigrants with non-immigrants. Its use amongst immigrants was not desired at all as the IIS scores of Table 7.4 above have shown. [k] is, on the contrary, liable to and could be used in any style. Finally, the speech behaviour of the lowest educational group on both variables is

particularly interesting since they were able to adapt their speech towards that of their local addressees in IIS in the case of (k) as was shown in Table 8.1 above, but who (especially men) were unable to do so in the case of (q) in the main. This last point is a natural consequence of the two points mentioned above.

8.1.2.2 The Variable (k) and Age

8.1.2.2.1 Presentation and Description of the Results

The distribution of (k) by age and style is shown in Table 8.2 below.

Table 8.2 Percentages for (k) by Age and Style

1. IIS	[k]	[ch]	No.
Old	64.36	35.64	1110
Young	76.66	23.34	2715

2. ILS			
Old	71.28	28.72	865
Young	99.25	0.75	1743

3. WLS			
Old	100.00	00.00	
Young	100.00	00.00	

4. QRS			
Old	100.00	00.00	
Young	100.00	00.00	

Table 8.2 shows that the two age groups are differentiated in conversational but not in reading styles. While in IIS the young and the old both favour the standard form [k] over the stigmatized variant [ch], the former do so more frequently than the latter. In ILS, the two groups are more clearly separated: the young avoid the stigmatized variant

[ch] altogether while the old retain it with more or less the same frequency as in the previous style. In WLS and QRS, [k] is categorical for all.

8.1.2.2.2 Discussion and Interpretation of the Results

It seems that the variable (k) is undergoing sound change in progress, though this obviously is in its last stages. There are two pieces of evidence in favour of this interpretation. First, the stigmatized variant [ch] is disfavoured by the young and the old especially the former who regularly make less use of it in conversational styles as we have seen in Table 8.2 above. In ILS, [ch] was, for example, categorically absent for the young. Secondly, there is the historical evidence as set out in Cantineau (1936:28) and who described a situation in which [ch] was confined to occur next to front vowels and non-pharyngealized consonants. Our linguistic analysis of the data in chapter 6 has shown that this situation probably was and now is no longer true and in which it has been found that the application of [ch] was not phonetically constrained such that being not extended to all phonetically eligible environments, but was lexically-conditioned. Even the [k]-pronunciation was the favoured one in such cases especially by the young.

Another point that deserves mention in this section is the narrow and limited range of style shift for the old group. Unlike the young, the old are unable to accommodate to their local addressees despite the fact that this did not involve the need for them to learn a new variant as was the case for the variable (q). The variable (k) has in IGFA two variants: a standard [k] which is used in most of the cases and a non-standard [ch] of less restricted usage. Yet the elderly were not able to get rid of using [ch] in ILS but rather retained it to the same extent as in IIS. However, the old manifested an ability to switch to the standard in WLS and QRS. As was the case with (q), the old could manage two stylistic dimensions: i.e. they can shift between the one involving their own vernacular and the other one involving the standard. The young can handle another one in addition and which relates to the local vernacular.

8.1.2.3 The Variable (k) and Sex

8.1.2.3.1 Sex and Education

8.1.2.3.1.1 Presentation and Description of the Results

The distribution of (k) by education, sex and style is given in Table 8.3 below.

Table 8.3 Percentages for (k) by Education, Sex and Style

1.	IIS	[k]	[ch]	No.
NE	M	75.52	24.48	286
	F	71.00	29.00	386
PE	M	77.74	22.26	310
	F	73.08	26.92	316
SE	M	76.90	23.10	368
	F	75.00	25.00	80
UE	M	78.08	21.92	529
	F	82.58	17.42	442

2.	ILS			
NE	M	94.42	5.58	197
	F	99.58	0.42	241
PE	M	100.00	00.00	255
	F	99.28	0.78	139
SE	M	100.00	00.00	260
	F	100.00	00.00	67
UE	M	100.00	00.00	291
	F	100.00	00.00	295

3.	WLS			
PE	M	100.00	00.00	
	F	100.00	00.00	
SE	M	100.00	00.00	
	F	100.00	00.00	
UE	M	100.00	00.00	
	F	100.00	00.00	

4.	QRS			
NE	M	100.00	00.00	
	F	100.00	00.00	

Table 8.3 shows that sex is unimportant for all educational groups in all four speech styles. However, there are very slight differences in the range of 5% at the most between men's and women's scores. At one point, for example, women score higher on the standard form [k] than men as is the case with the UE females in IIS only. At another, men's score on [k] is higher than women's in IIS but this is not consistent and is reversed in ILS in favour of women as is the case with the NE group.

8.1.2.3.1.2 Discussion and Interpretation of the Results

The variable (k) is one of two variables in this study that lacks sex differentiation altogether. Absence of sex differentiation is not an unusual sociolinguistic phenomenon and in fact has been reported in a number of sociolinguistic studies (7.2.3). For instance, in Kerswill's (1985) study of rural immigrants in Bergen, Norway, no significant differences have been found between men and women on all of the three variables studied.

The implications of the sex patterns of the variable (k) for our analysis are two-fold. First these results are in general in line with those reported for (q) in Chapter 7 above. In their simplest form these findings indicate that women and men are on a par with each other regarding their awareness of the social significance of linguistic variables. And in their strongest form, women are in the lead in the process of language change. The speech behaviour of the highest-ranking women in IIS and that of the lowest-ranking women in IIS and ILS is a case in point here. At one point the former have used standard [k] the most and at another the latter preceded the lowest-ranking men in their accommodation to the local addressees where they categorically utilized [k] although in IIS they employed it slightly less often than them. Secondly, the implications of these results to the sociolinguistic situation of Arab women at large can be examined in relation to the findings of Abdel-Jawad's (1981) and Shorrab's (1981) studies concerning the variable (k) in Jordanian and Palestinian varieties of Arabic respectively. Both studies gave contradictory statements. Abdel-Jawad (1981:293) wrote that 'generally speaking men have higher percentages of (k)-standardization than women do'. The lingering of the Jordanian women behind men in the standardizing process is reversed by the Palestinian women, especially the female students, who employed the stigmatized variant [ch] less often than men. Shorrab (1981:159) summarized this situation as follows:

The Fallahi female students demonstrated less use of the stigmatized variant [ch] than the rest of the Fallahi respondents, both in casual and careful styles ... This again, confirms the observation that female speakers are more sensitive to the use of the prestigious variants.

Shorrab's position is lent further support by the findings of the present immigrant study.

Now we examine sex differences in the old group.

8.1.2.3.2 Sex and the Old Group

8.1.2.3.2.1 Presentation and Description of the Results

The distribution of (k) by sex and style for the old age group is shown below.

Table 8.4. Percentages for (k) by Sex and Style in the Old Group

1.	IIS	[k]	[ch]	No.
	M	67.40	32.60	736
	F	58.50	41.50	378

2.	ILS			
	M	80.24	19.76	516
	F	58.12	41.88	351

3.	WLS			
	M	100.00	00.00	
	F	00.00	00.00	

4.	QRS			
	M	100.00	00.00	
	F	100.00	00.00	

Table 8.4 shows that in the first two speech styles old men consistently make less frequent use of the stigmatized variant [ch] than women do. However, both sexes are equal in WLS and QRS in which the stigmatized variant [ch] disappears completely.

8.1.2.3.2.2 Discussion and Interpretation of the Results

The higher frequency of the standard feature [k] in men's rather than in women's speech in conversational styles — i.e. in IIS and ILS, but not in reading styles might be interpreted as an indication that old men employ the standard form more than old women do and are thus in the lead in the process of language change. There are two pieces of

evidence in support of this, both of which can be gleaned from Table 8.4 above. First, in IIS men used [k] more often than women did; and secondly, in ILS men accommodated to their local interlocutors to some extent while women not at all, as is shown by their scores in IIS and ILS.

This interpretation is, however, rejected for a number of reasons, some of which are given below. First, the small rise in the percentage of prestigious [k] for old men is due not to sex but to other social factors. One such factor is education where two of the old men were semi-literate who were able to read and write and two others had the opportunity to be exposed early in life to the standard variety through the 'informal' teaching of the Quran which they received from local shekhs (religious scholars). Another is social network where men also had more open and diffuse social networks inside and outside the immigrant speech community as compared to old women who lacked any education of whatever kind completely and had closed social networks. Now if we take these differences into account and compare the speech of the two old men and the two old women with the same social characteristics regarding education, etc., we find no differences between them. In IIS, for instance, the two men scored 54.76 on the standard variant [k] as against 51.64 for the old women on the same variant. That is, both sexes in this case are equal. Secondly, the convergence of a number of factors supplies further evidence that old men's and women's speech is undifferentiated. Their behaviour on the variable (q) in chapter 7 is such a corroborating example of this interpretation. All the other variables within this study will lead to the same conclusion such as the one taken up in the next section and which is of very related interest.

8.1.2.4 The Variable (k) and Area

8.1.2.4.1 Presentation and Description of the Results

The percentage scores for (k) by area and style are given below.

Table 8.5. Percentages for (k) by Area and Style

1. IIS	[k]	[ch]	No.
Urban	77.10	22.90	965
Suburban	76.42	23.58	1752

2. ILS			
Urban	99.80	00.20	492
Suburban	99.04	00.96	1253

3. WLS			
Urban	100.00	00.00	
Suburban	100.00	00.00	

4. QRS			
Urban	100.00	00.00	
Suburban	100.00	00.00	

Table 8.5 shows that area is unimportant. Urban and suburban immigrants behave alike whether in their predominant use of standard [k] in IIS or in its categorical use in the three remaining speech styles. The same pattern, which has already been found for the variable (q) in chapter 7 above, is thus confirmed.

8.1.5 Summary

The variable (k) is one that sets IGFA as a partially non-standard dialect in this respect off of DA and SA. We have seen how IGFA's tendency towards correction and standardization was exercised, enforced and effected jointly by local speech and standard speech. The main points of the sociolinguistic analysis of this variable can be summarized as follows:

1. Education and social differentiation. In general there was no social differentiation amongst the educational groups on (k).
2. Apparent time and real time. The old group made less frequent use of standard [k] in conversational speech than the young group did. Coupled with the historical evidence, this denoted sound change in progress, though in its final stages especially for the young group.
3. Sex. Generally speaking, sex differences were unimportant although the non-educated and university-educated women used the standard form [k] slightly more often than men of equal status in ILS and IIS respectively. The differences between old men and women were discounted as unimportant as well.
4. Style shift. The direction of style shift occurred towards the standard variety as a result of the mutual impact of SA and DA on the immigrant dialect. The four styles ranked as follows. The immigrant addressee's influence resulted in the fact that the non-standard variant [ch] was used mainly in IIS by all educational groups, the young and the old, though variably and disfavouredly. In ILS, the young were able to accommodate to their local addressees by categorically pronouncing [k] while the old were not or showed very little of such accommodation. All switched to the standard form in WLS and QRS.
5. Area. This was not important at all.

8.2 The Morphological Variable (-k)

8.2.1 Introduction

No sociolinguistic analysis has so far appeared for the (2nd person) feminine morphological marker [-ch] in Arabic. It is very surprising that this is so since every Arabic dialect that has an alternation between [k] and [ch] at the phonemic/phonetic level has the latter form categorically used for the second person feminine singular/plural suffixed pronoun. Of the three studies that handled the issue of linguistic variation between [k] and [ch] at the phonetic level (i.e. Shorrab 1981; Holes 1981, 1983; Abdel-Jawad 1981), only the latter (Abdel-Jawad 1981:298) referred to it in passing and called for further research into it. More precisely, he compared the occurrence of ((-)k)

as a morphological marker and as a phonological variable and found that its frequency as a morphological marker disfavoured the standard form [-k] which amounted to 32% as against 63% for the same form as a phonological variable (Abdel-Jawad 1981:298).

8.2.2 This Study

8.2.2.1 Methodological Problems

The elicitation of morphological and grammatical variables is quite problematic for sociolinguistic research since these variables are quite infrequent when elicited by normal face-to-face interviews. (For procedures to overcome these problems, see Wolfson 1976; Cheshire 1982.) This is also true of the morphological marker in this study. (The same also holds for Abdel-Jawad's (1981:296) case mentioned above in which there occurred 187 instances of (k) as a morphological marker versus 1496 instances as a phonological variable in the speech of 26 speakers.) The total number of instances that were elicited for (-k) in this study totalled 564 in two speech styles, IIS and ILS. This is very little when we take into account the fact that the sample contained 38 informants. Some of these informants (N = 6) produced no tokens at all in both styles; some gave between two and six tokens; and some between 30 and 50 tokens.

There are a number of reasons besides the interview-based considerations why the morphological variable was not as frequent in the data. These included (i) absence of a female addressee since in most speech encounters the addressee (i.e. interviewer, interactant) to the informant was male; (ii) the non-occurrence of women-related topics; and (iii) the non-addressing of the interactants of themselves in a way that necessitates the use of the above pronoun. In fact, there is no guarantee that this variable will occur, let us say, just because one is talking with a woman. Both speaker and addressee have to be women in the case of women informants to ensure the elicitation of the morphological marker from the desired informant. This constraint of finding two women, one as an addressee and one as a speaker is very difficult, if not impossible, to meet. To show how even when such conditions are met the occurrence of the morphological marker cannot be guaranteed the data was searched to see the influence of the sex of the addressee in this connection. The results are shown in Table 8.6 below.

Table 8.6 Frequency of the Morphological Marker (–k) according to one's Addressee's Sex and by Style

	Male Addressee		Female Addressee		All
IIS	(145)	68.72	(66)	31.28	211
ILS	(121)	34.28	(232)	65.72	353

Table 8.6 shows that the sex of the addressee is not a sure indicator or guarantor of the frequency of the morphological marker (–k). The two styles produce mirror–image results. In IIS, the morphological marker occurs mainly when the interactants are both males, while in ILS the picture is totally reversed in favour of female speakers.

Also morphological variables cannot be elicited through reading material. This is due to two reasons. First, speakers would tend to read what is in front of them rather than speak on their own. This means that a text on a grammatical variable is biased towards the standard rather than the vernacular (also see Petyt 1985 for a similar position). Secondly, the morpheme [ch] is not orthographically represented in Arabic altogether. Two words have been included in the word list containing the morphological marker, both of which have been read in the standard pronunciation. Because of the above considerations, no reference to the status of (–k) in WLS or QRS will be made in the analysis to be presented below.

8.2.2.2 Analyzing (–k) by Education

8.2.2.2.1 Presentation and Description of the Results by Education

The percentages for (–k) by education and style are shown in Table 8.7 below.

Table 8.7 Percentages for (-k) by Education and Style

1. IIS	[-k]	[-ch]	No
NE	6.25	93.75	32
PE	12.82	87.18	39
SE	00.00	100.00	18
UE	00.00	100.00	41
2. ILS			
NE	97.88	2.12	47
PE	100.00	00.00	47
SE	100.00	00.00	61
UE	100.00	00.00	133

Table 8.7 shows that all educational groups are socially undifferentiated. In IIS, the use of the standard variant [-k] is categorically absent especially for the two higher-status groups, whereas in ILS the situation is completely reversed in its favour. The fewer occurrences of the standard form in the speech of the lower-status rather than the higher-status groups in IIS are due to the fact that they were said in imitation of local speakers and can thus be overlooked and discounted as insignificant especially when the whole number of elicited tokens is taken into account and which speaks for itself in this matter.

8.2.2.2.2 Discussion and Interpretation of the Results

The results for the morphological marker as presented in Table 8.7 above provide another counter-example to Trudgill (1974:103) mentioned above (8.1.2.1.2) with respect to the co-occurrence of social and stylistic variation. Here we have a very clear case of stylistic variation and no sign whatsoever of social stratification despite the fact that [-ch] is subject to overt comment, involved in phonological contrast with [-k], and different from the prestigious varieties, etc.

Bell (1984:154–56) termed such variables as the one reported here hyperstyle variables. A hyperstyle variable, according to Bell, is a variable with little social variation but maximal stylistic variation. Bell cited three cases in the literature as evidence on hyperstyle variables: two studies on Tehran Persian (Modaressi–Tehrani 1978; Jahangiri 1980; Jahangiri and Hudson 1982) and one on Canadian English in Ottawa (Woods 1979). For instance, Bell (1984:155) reported that in Modaressi–Tehrani's analysis of the Persian of Tehran, one of the variables was involved in a great amount (94%) of stylistic variation as against only 17% of social variation. Bell (1984:156) gave three tentative reasons to explain the hyperstyle phenomenon in Persian. First, this kind of style shift takes place between free speech (i.e. casual speech and careful speech) and reading styles (i.e. reading passage, word list, and minimal pairs). Non–standard forms, therefore, occur with very high frequencies in free speech for all social classes but are negligible in reading styles. Secondly, Iranian society is strongly deferential. That is, Iranians make use of various verb forms, pronouns, etc., to indicate politeness and respect towards their addressees. And language use or style shifting is one way of signalling this deferential strategy of respect amongst the Iranians. Thirdly, hyperstyle variables can be said to have lost social variation altogether which is often accompanied by reversed age patterns but retained or developed stylistic variation independently. Bell himself admitted that these reasons are by no means the only ones to adequately account for such phenomenon in Persian.

None of Bell's reasons apply to the (–k) variable. As we have seen in Table 8.7 above, style shift, for example, occurred not between free speech and reading styles, but within free speech itself. That is, although the occurrence of non–standard [–ch] is associated with IIS and that of standard [–k] with ILS, both of these styles are conversational styles or simply free speech. No politeness strategies, furthermore, are used not only in this immigrant dialect but also in all varieties of Arabic. Finally, (–k) has a regular age pattern and not a reversed one as we shall see later.

The loss of social variation on (–k) is probably socio–psychological. The categorical use of [–ch] by the immigrants amongst themselves as in IIS represents immigrant identity

and language loyalty while its non-use non-immigrant identity and language disloyalty. That is why all social groups identify themselves as immigrants through the use of [-ch] in IIS. Although it is stigmatized by others, its use is not unaccepted within the immigrant speech community itself. In fact, any immigrant who does not use it in this context will be severely criticised by his fellow immigrants. The usage of the local and/or standard variant [-k], on the other hand, in ILS by all social groups does not necessarily imply that the immigrants have lost their immigrant identity or betrayed their language loyalty. One might alternatively and quite justifiably argue that these immigrants have two identities, or more, to which they simultaneously belong and with which they readily identify: an immigrant identity represented through the use of [-ch] and a local identity represented through the use of [-k]. The two identities are intermixed with each other in the linguistic consciousness of the immigrants. In language reality, both identities are invoked in the form of stylistic variants utilized in different social contexts and speech situations. All this reasoning might be hypothetical and need not be the whole story.

Now what about hyperstyle variables in Arabic sociolinguistic studies other than this one? No Arabic study has so far reported on their presence but a closer look at some of their data reveals that hyperstyle variables do really exist. There are at least two variables of this type in Shorrab's (1981) study of Palestinian Arabic. On the variable (q), his four social groups were differentiated by 10% in casual and careful style but none at all in reading and word list styles. The amount of style shift between conversational styles and reading styles exceeded 83% at the least (see Shorrab's Figure on p.170). The variable (th) (Shorrab 1981:165) showed exactly the same pattern. It has to be noted, however, that this is my own interpretation of Shorrab's data and the original author made no such reference to hyperstyle variables at all.

8.2.2.3 The Variable (-k) and Age

8.2.2.3.1 Presentation and Description of the Results

The distribution of (-k) by age and style is laid out in Table 8.8 below.

Table 8.8 Percentages for (–k) by Age and Style

1. IIS	[–k]	[–ch]	No.
Old	2.46	97.54	81
Young	5.38	94.62	130

2. ILS			
Old	00.00	100.00	65
Young	99.66	0.34	288

Table 8.8 shows that the old and the young are near-categorical users of the non-standard form [–ch] in IIS. The old maintain this categorical pronunciation of [–ch] in ILS whereas the young drop it completely.

8.2.2.3.2 Discussion and Interpretation of the Results

There is a regular age pattern as can be seen from Table 8.8 where the young utilize [–ch] less often than the old especially in ILS. Cantineau (1936;33, 72, and 76) noted that in pre-immigrant speech [–ch] was categorical when used as a morphological marker of the second person feminine suffixed pronoun. Apparent time and real time evidence thus points to sound change in progress. The participation of the young age group in this process indicates that (–k)–standardization has started since 1967 when immigrant speech came into direct day-to-day contact with local speech.

The two age groups are further contrasted in the fact that the young group can accommodate to their local addressess while the old group cannot. Thus this (–k) pattern for the old group, in particular, confirms our interpretation of their behaviour on (k) above (8.1.2.2) in which they were also found incapable of adapting their speech towards their local addressees.

8.2.2.4 The Variable (-k) and Sex

8.2.2.4.1 Sex and Education

8.2.2.4.1.1 Presentation and Description of the Results

The percentages for (-k) by education, sex and style are shown in Table 8.9 below.

Table 8.9 Percentages for (-k) by Education, Sex, and Style

1.	IIS	[-k]	[-ch]	No.
NE	M	00.00	100.00	15
	F	11.76	88.24	17
PE	M	28.58	71.42	7
	F	9.38	90.62	32
SE	M	00.00	100.00	17
	F	00.00	100.00	1
UE	M	00.00	100.00	47
	F	00.00	00.00	0

2.	ILS			
NE	M	85.72	14.28	7
	F	100.00	00.00	40
PE	M	100.00	00.00	24
	F	100.00	00.00	23
SE	M	100.00	00.00	7
	F	100.00	00.00	54
UE	M	100.00	00.00	12
	F	100.00	00.00	121

Table 8.9 shows that the two sexes are undifferentiated at all save for some minor exceptions which can be discounted easily. In IIS the PE males' higher score than that of the females of the same status is unimportant and is due to the few number of tokens

elicited. In fact, all the percentages of the standard form [-k] in this style are exceptional one way or another judging especially by the social stratification pattern as a whole. The NE men's lower scores on [-k] especially in ILS compared with the NE women's is due to the fact that very few instances were had for the former. It can also be noticed that the UE women have not contributed any one single token in IIS while they provided the greatest number of such tokens in ILS because in the latter case their addressees were women as well. The same also applies to the SE women for whom only one instance occurred in IIS as against twelve in ILS. But as we noted earlier, the addressee's sex was not the sole factor in this situation.

8.2.2.4.1.2 Discussion and Interpretation of the Results

The unimportance of sex as a differentiator in language use between men and women immigrants as far as the morphological marker is concerned gives further strength to and confirms the results and conclusions arrived at in the analysis of the closely related phonetic variable (k) above (8.1.2.3) and in which sex also had no significance in this respect.

These results can furthermore throw some light on the description of the demonstrative system by El-Hassan (1978) which was alluded to at a number of points in chapter 7 above. This is because the morphological marker and the demonstrative pronoun are of similar linguistic characteristics: both are grammatical rather than phonological. Our results contrast with El-Hassan's in two ways. First, El-Hassan failed to elicit stylistic variation as his analysis of the data for the Jordanian and Egyptian samples has shown. Secondly, and worse still, El-Hassan misinterpreted the role of women in the standardization process which both men and women generally equally disfavoured. In this study, style shifting was successfully elicited and quantified and the role of women in this process is fairly assessed where they were found in this particular case to be equal to men. In fact, if a generalization is to be made, we will be tempted to say that women lead in the process of standardization and language shift in Damascus.

8.2.2.4.2 Sex and the Old Group

8.2.2.4.2.1 Presentation and Description of the Results

The distribution of (−k) by sex and style for the old group is given in Table 8.10 below.

Table 8.10. Percentages for (−k) by Sex and Style for the Old Group

1. IIS	[−k]	[−ch]	No.
M	00.00	100.00	26
F	3.64	96.36	55

2. ILS			
M	00.00	100.00	14
F	00.00	100.00	51

Table 8.10 shows that the scores obtained by old men and women are the same in every respect where both utilize [−ch], the non-standard variant, categorically in IIS and ILS. The small percentage score on [−k] for old women is unimportant.

8.2.2.4.2.2 Discussion and Interpretation of the Results

The data summarized in Table 8.10 above gives further support to our interpretation concerning the fact that sex, all being equal, plays an insignificant and unimportant role for the old group and that both men and women are equally undifferentiated from each other in their speech.

8.2.2.5 The Variable (−k) and Area

The distribution of the variable (−k) by area will not be shown here in order to economize in space. There were no speech differences at all between urban and suburban immigrants.

8.2.6 Summary

The morphological variable (–k) is a hyperstyle variable whose main characteristics can be summarized as follows:

1. Education and social differentiation. All four social groups were undistinguishable.
2. Apparent time and real time. The combined evidence from age patterns and the historical record of the dialect indicates sound change in progress: a change which involves an alternation between non-standard [–ch], the hitherto only attested variant, and standard [–k] which is adopted from the local vernacular.
3. Sex. There is no sex differentiation either amongst the educational groups or amongst the old group.
4. Style Shift. This is the most characteristic property of the variable (–k) for which it can be noted. (–k) is involved mainly in stylistic variation. The educational groups and/or the young shifted their styles depending on the linguistic character of the addressee: in immigrant-to-immigrant speech exchanges [–ch] was categorical, while in immigrant-to-local ones it was categorically absent in favour of [–k]. For the old group [–ch] was the only form used in both styles and this group, therefore, had no style shifting.
5. Area. This was not important at all.

8.3 The Variable (D)

8.3.1 Introduction

Despite the development of the phoneme /D/, a voiced alveolar–pharyngealized plosive, into and total merger with /Dh/, a voiced interdental pharyngealized fricative, in a great many modern Arabic dialects, for some of which we have available sociolinguistic descriptions such as Bahraini Arabic (Holes 1981, 1983), Jordanian Arabic (Abdel–Jawad 1981), Qatari Arabic (Al–Amadihi (1985), and Palestinian Arabic (Shorrab 1981), it has not been so far described sociolinguistically in any one Arabic dialect except in Palestinian Arabic. The linguistic situation for /D/ in this latter dialect is as follows. In two varieties of Palestinian Arabic, namely Fallaheen and Bedouin, /D/ passed into and totally merged with /Dh/. In Madani, a third variety of Palestinian Arabic, /D/ is retained

intact. The sociolinguistic situation for (D) in Palestinian Arabic is shown in Table 8.11 below by social group and style.

Table 8.11 Percentages of /D/ Absence by Style in Fallaheens and Bedouins in Palestinian Arabic

	Fallaheens	Bedouins
Casual Style	93.50	94.50
Formal Style	89.00	93.25
Reading Style	00.00	21.75
Word List Style	00.00	15.75

Source: adapted from Shorrab 1981:170, 172.

Table 8.11 shows that Fallaheens and Bedouins are both semi-categorical users of the non-standard and merged variant [Dh] in conversational styles, namely, casual and careful styles. In reading and word list style, it can be seen that there is massive style shift in favour of the standard form for both groups with Fallaheen speakers using the standard form categorically while Bedouin speakers slightly less so.

8.3.2 The Variable (D) in this Study

8.3.2.1 Analyzing (D) by Education

8.3.2.1.1 Presentation and Description of the Results by Education

The percentage scores for (D) by education and style are given in Table 8.12 below.

Table 8.12 Percentages for (D) by Education and Style

1. IIS	[D]	[Dh]	No
NE	1.62	98.38	124
PE	2.10	97.90	143
SE	2.92	97.08	103
UE	7.04	92.96	213

2. ILS			
NE	56.60	43.40	106
PE	73.08	26.92	104
SE	50.00	50.00	101
UE	87.50	12.50	144

3. WLS			
PE	14.90	85.10	
SE	23.74	76.26	
UE	64.86	35.14	

4. QRS			
NE	54.55	45.45	

Table 8.12 shows that the distribution of the variants varies across styles and social groups. The use of the non-standard immigrant feature [Dh] is (semi-)categorical for all social groups in IIS. This picture is wholly altered in ILS where the standard and locally prestigious variant [D] is favoured except for the next highest group who alternate both variants in an exact 50:50 sort of way. Apart from the latter group, all social groups are regularly stratified with the higher the social status the greater the frequency of

the standard variant and vice versa. Finally, in WLS and, to a lesser extent, in QRS, the course and frequency of the standard form does not proceed in the expected order. Rather the percentage of the standard variant [D] decreases sharply for all educational groups compared with that in ILS.

8.3.2.2 Discussion and Interpretation of the Results

The variable (D) is sociolinguistically complex as can be gleaned from the above results. In part this is due to the phonetic merger between [D] and [Dh] in immigrant speech. And in part this is due, and most importantly, to the irregular sociolinguistic patterns that will be unveiled in the course of this and the following discussions.

The first such pattern concerns the intersection of education and social differentiation. This varies with style. In IIS, one can safely say that social differentiation is totally absent since the usage of the non-standard variant [Dh] is not less than 93% at the least. Absence of social variation here is not uneasy to account for and at least two reasons can be postulated for that. First, there is evidence from the previous two variables in this chapter that both have lacked social variation altogether. The variants [ch], [-ch], and [Dh] all represent and stand for immigrant identity, language loyalty, and group membership. As such they can easily be expected to occur with higher frequencies in the speech of all immigrants in speech situations that can be characterized as immigrant-centred, friendly, homely, relativial and familial. The use of the standard and/or local prestigious features in such situations is not only undesirable but also would mark the immigrant speaker as an outsider, dislodge and distance him from his immediate associates, friends, relatives, and parents. No one immigrant will, therefore, be ready and willing to introduce linguistic features in their improper place that might eventually alienate him from his speech community.

Secondly, the speech style IIS is in general lacking in social differentiation. In our analysis of the variable (q) of chapter 7 above, we have seen how in IIS the four educational groups split into two, namely an LG and an MG, with a narrow gap of about 20% inbetween. Perhaps the greatest similarity between (q) and (D) in IIS is the fact that the local variants [ʔ] and [D] are not used to any noticeable extent although the

latter is used more frequently than the former. But when the standard variant [q] is compared with the standard and prestigious local variant [D], it can be seen that the former is favoured more than the latter and this is simply because it is dialect-neutral, i.e. it is associated with neither DA nor IGFA in origin or it is replaced by separate variants in both vernaculars. The use of [q] is therefore neutral and does not oust the speaker from his immigrant speech community.

In the second speech style, there is social stratification where the social continuum is clearly divided into at least three groups: SE, NE, PE and UE. The astonishing thing in this respect, however, is the extraordinary speech behaviour of the next highest group. It is exceptional in the sense that their use of the standard and/or local variant [D] is the least of all educational groups. It is astonishing in the sense that this kind of speech performance seems to contrast sharply with and reverse their hypercorrection on (q) of chapter 7 above. More precisely, it has been clearly demonstrated in the case of (q) how the SE group not only did not favour the local variant [ʔ] over the standard one [q] but surpassed the highest group in their usage of the latter one. Both groups have completely dropped, however, their immigrant feature [g]. Although their speech behaviour on (D) seems to be a counter-example to theirs on (q), this is not so for at least two reasons. The first reason stems from the fact that both [ʔ] and [D] are local features; therefore, the partial accommodation on the part of the SE group as far as [D] is concerned is due to the same criteria that forced them to abandon [ʔ] in favour of [q]. That is, a feature that is characteristically local is not favoured by them, whether it agrees with the standard or not. (In chapter 9 we will encounter other variables of related interest.)

One might question in this connection the fact that on the variables (k) and (–k) mentioned above in this chapter (8.1 and 8.2 respectively) the SE group exclusively employed in ILS the standard and/or local variants [k] and [–k] and like every body else. The reason for this is very simple which lies in the overt stigmatization of [ch] in IGFA, a feature that arouses comment, laughter and criticism even by the immigrants themselves. The merged variant [Dh], on the contrary, is covertly prestigious and arouses no such comments at all. It is no wonder, therefore, to find the immigrants avoid [ch] in ILS

completely but still use [Dh], though variably.

The second factor relates to the fact that DA lacks the phoneme /Dh/ altogether. This being so enables the SE group in particular to avoid social stigma and to assert their standard usage despite the fact that they applied it to the wrong contexts. This reason only indirectly explains their deviant behaviour. (For a sociolinguistic analysis of (Dh), see chapter 9 below.)

If our arguments are plausible, then the deviant speech behaviour of the SE group in this particular instance can be related to the hypercorrect pattern which we have encountered in chapter 7 above. In the case of (D) their behaviour can be appropriately termed 'undercorrection' to designate the fact that they corrected and utilized the standard variant [D] less than any other educational group. Undercorrection, like all unusual social class patterns (e.g. Trudgill 1974:105), indicates sound change in progress.

There are many instances in the literature where lower-status groups score lower than higher-status ones as far as their non-standard usage is concerned. Trudgill (1974:105), for example, has shown that the UWC and MWC made more frequent use of the non-standard variants (i.e. increased centralization) of the variable (e) in Norwich English than the LWC in all contextual styles. This he interpreted as an innovation in Norwich spearheaded by the upper members of the WC although other classes participated in it as well. And in another case, namely the variable (yu), the LMC scored not only lower than the UWC, but also as low as the LWC. This happened in casual style only (see Trudgill 1974:102). Although in this latter case the crossover is very clear, it has not been associated with sound change in progress.

Now we turn to WLS and QRS.

Although there is regular social differentiation in WLS, the irregular nature of this style as a whole impels us to discuss it not with reference to this point but with reference to style shifting taken up below.

Secondly, the nature of style shifting. In conversational styles, namely IIS and ILS, the effect of the addressee is as expected. That is, in an immigrant-to-immigrant speech exchange, the use of the non-standard immigrant form [Dh] is predominantly

favoured while in one with a local addressee the standard and/or local form [D] wins over. In WLS and QRS the stylistic pattern is totally reversed for all social groups where the percentage of the standard feature [D] decreases rather than increases. This means that the influence of the local addressee in this particular case on the occurrence of the standard form or causing style shifting is greater than that of reading material and tests that are usually administered for eliciting the standard features.

Reversed style patterns are quite common in the literature. L. Milroy (1980:102) found that for most of her 13 Ballymacarret informants the vernacular forms of the variable (a) in Belfast were higher in WLS than in IS (interview style) and SS (spontaneous style). The variable (ook) in West Yorkshire (Petyt 1985:169) as in the words moon /mu:n/, blood /blu:d/ had a wholly inversed style pattern where the vernacular forms increased steadily in reading styles (i.e. reading passage, word list, and minimal pairs) but were negligible in conversational styles (i.e. casual and careful speech). This happened for all social classes without exception.

Unusual style patterns are often associated with sound change in progress (Romaine 1978:151; Chambers and Trudgill 1980:95–7). Variables that are involved in such irregular stylistic variation can be covertly prestigious. Post-vocalic /r/ in Scottish English (Romaine 1978) is a case in point. More precisely, Romaine found that rhotic [r] increased rather than decreased in the reading style of Edinburgh schoolchildren.

The variable (D) is similarly involved in sound change in progress as far as its inversed stylistic variation pattern is concerned. That [Dh] is covertly prestigious is also clear and this can be seen from (i) its very, very high frequency in IIS, (ii) its 'variable' retention in ILS by all social groups especially by the next highest one, and (iii) its sizeable occurrence in WLS and QRS. These facts strengthen our interpretation of the undercorrect pattern of the next-highest group above as one being covertly prestigious and signalling sound change in progress.

So far evidence on the involvement of (D) in sound change in progress has been derived from (i) the undercorrection of the SE group and (ii) stylistic variation. Now we turn to explore the generational differences to confirm these two patterns.

8.3.3 The variable (D) and Age

8.3.3.1 Presentation and Description of the Results

The distribution of (D) by age and style is shown in Table 8.13 below.

Table 8.13 Percentages for (D) by Age and Style

1. IIS	[D]	[Dh]	No.
Old	0.28	99.72	347
Young	3.94	96.06	583

2. ILS			
Old	1.04	98.96	290
Young	68.58	31.42	455

3. WLS			
Old	33.34	66.66	
Young	37.64	62.36	

4. QRS			
Old	25.00	75.00	
Young	54.55	45.45	

Table 8.13 shows that the old and the young are differentiated most in ILS where the latter make far more frequent use of standard [D] than the former do. In IIS both are semi-categorical users of the non-standard feature [Dh] though the young make less use of it than the old. In WLS both favour [Dh]. QRS scores are unrepresentative since only 11 instances were elicited from the four young speakers against 8 ones from the three old informants.

8.3.3.2 Discussion and Interpretation of the Results

There is a consistent pattern for the distribution of (D) across the two age groups in conversational styles. In each case the young use the standard and/or local form more than the old. Checking this pattern against Cantineau's (1936:18) statement that:

L'ancien d ([D]) ... est complètement confondu avec l'ancien d ([Dh]) dans une seule et même prononciation d. (Parentheses mine)

we can say that this points to sound change in progress in which the young take the most active part. This situation has been brought about as a result of dialect contact between IGFA and DA in the main since 1967. This result, therefore, confirms the two patterns of sound change in progress encountered above, namely the undercorrection of the SE group and the reversed WLS.

As to their range of stylistic variation, both age groups are differentiated. As has already been demonstrated repeatedly, the old group, unlike the young, are unable to accommodate to their local addressees as a comparison of their IIS and ILS scores reveals. However, the old to some extent managed to shift to the standard in WLS and QRS. Although their WLS scores compare easily with those of the young, theirs show regular stylistic variation, unlike those of the latter which are reversed.

8.3.4 The Variable (D) and Sex

8.3.4.1 Education and Sex

8.3.4.1.1 Presentation and Description of the Results

The frequency scores of (D) by education, sex, and style are shown in Table 8.14 below.

Table 8.14 Percentages for (D) by Education, Sex, and Style

1.	IIS	[D]	[Dh]	No.
NE	M	00.00	100.00	50
	F	2.70	98.30	74
PE	M	1.48	98.52	68
	F	2.66	97.34	75
SE	M	1.25	98.75	80
	F	8.70	91.30	23
UE	M	6.74	93.26	104
	F	7.34	92.66	109
2.	ILS			
NE	M	00.00	100.00	37
	F	92.76	7.24	69
PE	M	69.84	30.16	63
	F	82.94	17.06	41
SE	M	40.28	59.72	72
	F	72.42	27.58	29
UE	M	78.20	21.80	78
	F	97.00	3.00	67
3.	WLS			
PE	M	12.24	87.76	
	F	17.78	82.22	
SE	M	22.22	77.78	
	F	28.58	71.42	
UE	M	38.46	61.54	
	F	88.14	11.86	
4.	QRS			
NE	M	00.00	100.00	
	F	66.66	33.34	

Table 8.14 shows that the usage of the standard and/or local feature [D] varies by style and sex. And in every case women make more frequent use of the standard form [D] than men.

8.3.4.1.2 Discussion and Interpretation of the Results

The two sexes stratify differently and most clearly in ILS. In the other speech styles there is either no social differentiation altogether as in IIS or a blurred pattern due to the irregular nature of stylistic variation as in WLS and QRS. Therefore, in the discussion of social differentiation below reference will be made to ILS only.

In our analysis of the variable (q) by sex (chapter 7 above), we found that women tended to belittle their social differences achieved by maintaining their split into two larger groups, namely, an LG and an MG, in conversational styles. Men, on the other hand, increased and maximised their social differences by dividing into four social groups. The primary-educated males were closer in their speech performance to the university-educated males while the secondary-educated males were solely responsible for the hypercorrection. Finally, the extreme distinction between the sexes occurred at the lowest end of the social continuum: uneducated females accommodated to their local addressees completely while uneducated males very little.

All of these sex differences are now repeated even more sharply. Females of all educational groups are not distinguished. The uneducated women are separated by less than 5% from the university-educated women. The fact that the uneducated females have higher scores on [D] than the primary-educated and the secondary-educated ones is unimportant because of the implications of the addressee situation. Two of the three PE females were recorded with their children in their arms with whom they talked from time to time and this resulted in their having less [D] scores. The only SE female had got married less than two weeks when she was recorded. Perhaps the pleasure and emotional intensity of a recent marriage, especially in the Middle East, might, therefore, affect one's language shift and language loyalty.

Men, on the contrary, are clearly split into four social groups. At one point there are the uneducated males who maintain [Dh] categorically versus the university-educated

ones who make the most frequent use of [D]. The middle groups are intermediary with the primary-educated being very close to the university-educated. The secondary-educated men are exceptional in that they make less use of [D] than the PE men. Again, the undercorrect pattern of the SE, like the hypercorrect one, is male-based. Thus the association of the male sex with such unusual patterns is confirmed and in chapter 9 below more evidence on this will crop up.

The extent and range of style shift is also different as far as sex is concerned. Except for the uneducated men, both sexes are aware of the social significance of the prestigious variant [D] especially in their communication with the locals. Accommodation to the locals on the part of the females is greater than that of the males in each case. One can also see from Table 8.14 that the accommodation of the uneducated women is greater than that of the university-educated men. Finally, although men's and women's scores are reversed in WLS and QRS concerning their use of the standard form [D], it is the women who correct to the standard more sharply in every case. The university-educated females lead in this process.

At the end of this section it is worthwhile to compare our findings and results with those of Shorrab (1981) for his Palestinian speakers. Shorrab (1981:173) concluded that in casual and careful speech the non-standard feature [Dh] was pronounced near-categorically without any real significant differences between men and women. The role of women in this study contrasts sharply with that in Shorrab where women lead in general in the process of standardization brought about under the impact of the local dialect, DA.

8.3.4.2 Sex and the Old Group

8.3.4.2.1 Presentation and Description of the Results

The percentage scores of (D) by style and sex for the old group are shown in Table 8.15 below.

Table 8.15 Percentages for (D) by Style and Sex for the Old Group

1.	ILS	[D]	[Dh]	No.
	M	0.46	99.54	220
	F	00.00	100.00	127

2.	ILS			
	M	1.68	98.32	178
	F	00.00	100.00	112

3.	WLS			
	M	33.34	66.66	
	F	00.00	00.00	

4.	QRS			
	M	00.00	100.00	
	F	66.66	33.34	

Table 8.15 shows that the old men and women are undifferentiated at all. The apparently higher women's score on [D] in QRS is unrepresentative since only 8 tokens were elicited for the whole style, three of which came from one woman and five from two men. Thus, all of these results are generally regular and conform to the previously obtained patterns in this respect and, therefore, need no further discussion.

8.3.5 The Variable (D) and Area

8.3.5.1 Presentation and Description of the Results

The frequency scores for (D) by area and style are shown in Table 8.16 below.

Table 8.16 Percentages for (D) by Area and Style

1. IIS	[D]	[Dh]	No.
Urban	6.14	93.86	179
Suburban	3.22	96.78	404

2. ILS			
Urban	75.00	25.00	136
Suburban	67.72	32.28	319

3. WLS			
Urban	43.18	56.82	
Suburban	35.28	64.78	

4. QRS			
Urban	100.00	00.00	
Suburban	37.50	62.50	

Table 8.16 shows that, although urban immigrants make slightly more frequent use of [D] than suburban ones in the first three styles, these areal differences are qualitative and do not exceed 8% at the most. QRS scores are unrepresentative of the urban case which is based on 3 instances only from one informant. On the whole, area is unimportant.

8.3.6 Summary

The main points that have emerged from our sociolinguistic analysis of the variable (D) can be summarized as follows:

1. Education and Social Differentiation. The social groups were differentiated in only one speech style: namely, ILS. In WLS and QRS the differences are unimportant due to the irregular nature of these styles as a whole. In general, the social pattern in ILS is consistent with the fact that the higher the social status, the greater the frequency of the

prestigious form [D]. However, the next-highest group deviated from this norm and made the least frequent use of [D], a deviation which was described as undercorrection and which was interpreted, like hypercorrection, as indicative of sound change in progress.

2. Apparent time and real time. The increasing use of [D] by the young in conversational styles compared to that by the old and its absence in the historical record of pre-immigrant speech indicates sound change in progress.

3. Sex. The two sexes were stratified differently in ILS. Women did not show any social differentiation amongst them. That is, by language use alone one cannot tell, for example, a non-educated woman from a university-educated one. But men did exhibit social stratification amongst themselves by splitting into four social groups although the primary-educated were very close in their speech behaviour to the university-educated. The undercorrect pattern, like the hypercorrect one, has also been found to be male-based. Finally, women have also been found to use the standard form [D] more frequently than men and thus lead in linguistic change. (Old men and women were equal in this respect.)

4. Style shift. The influence of the addressee was paramount in inducing style shifting. In immigrant-to-immigrant exchanges, the use of the non-standard feature [Dh] was near-categorical for all immigrants, young and old. In exchanges with the locals, the old and the non-educated young men still favoured [Dh] while all others favoured standard [D], especially women. WLS and QRS were inversed for all educational groups and this was explained to denote sound change in progress. The old to some extent managed to switch to [D] in WLS and QRS.

5. Area. This was generally unimportant.

8.4 General Summary

The three non-standard variables of IGFA, namely, (k), the morphophoneme (-k) and (D), discussed in the course of this chapter, had different social differentiation and stylistic variation patterns. These are briefly summarized below.

The variable (k) has been found to be in its final stages of standardization, especially for the educational groups and/or the young. As such it showed no social variation but

did show stylistic variation. ($-k$) was an extreme case of stylistic variation: i.e. a hyperstyle. The only social differences found were between the young and the old where the former were able to accommodate to their local addressees while the latter were not. (k) and ($-k$) are thus similar.

The variable (D) is complex due to its merged phonetic nature and social and stylistic patterns. Social differentiation between the educational groups was manifested only in ILS. An undercorrect pattern has been noted for the next-highest group. And women also did not participate in social differentiation but lead in linguistic change. WLS and QRS gave a reversed pattern of stylistic variation where the percentage of the standard feature decreased rather than increased. This leads us to conclude that the influence of the local vernacular surpasses that of the standard as far as the speech patterns of the immigrants are concerned.

In chapter 9 we will be dealing with four more linguistic variables, all of which are originally standard in immigrant speech but are undergoing a process of destandardization under the impact of DA.

Chapter 9

Correction and Discorrection

9.0 Introduction

In this chapter we investigate four linguistic variables, namely (J), (th), (dh) and (Dh). All of these variables have correct, standard phonetic realizations in IGFA, as in SA, but non-correct, non-standard ones in DA. Hence the title. More precisely, we want to examine the extent of the de-standardizing influence of the local vernacular DA on the immigrant vernacular, IGFA.

Almost all previous sociolinguistic research (e.g. Labov 1966, 1972a; Trudgill 1974; Macaulay 1977; Milroy 1980; Petyt 1985; etc.) have been mainly concerned with the examination of the standardization and correction of non-standard, non-prestigious variables. All Arabic sociolinguistic studies are of this sort, without exception. Only very few sociolinguistic studies reported on the process of destandardization undergone by correct and standard variables. One such study is Kerswill's (1985) investigation of the acquisition of the dialect of Bergen by adult immigrants in Norway. Of the three variables examined, Kerswill found one variable, namely, (schwa-lowering) involved in de-standardization and discorrection under the impact of the Bergen dialect.

9.1 The Variable (J)

9.1.1 Introduction

The variable (J) has been dealt with so far in three Arabic sociolinguistic studies: in Palestinian Arabic (Shorrab 1981), in Bahraini Arabic (Holes 1980, 1981, 1983, 1986), and in Qatari Arabic (Al-Amadihi 1985). In all the variable (J) has been described as undergoing a process of standardization. Below is given a summary of each study.

Shorrab's analysis is qualitative. He noted that in one variety of Palestinian Arabic, Madani, [J], the standard variant, is consistently pronounced as [zh], the non-standard one, in casual and careful (conversational) styles. In reading styles [j] varies with [zh]. In the two remaining varieties of Palestinian Arabic, i.e. Bedouin and Fallaheen, [j] was categorically used by speakers of these varieties. The reason for this speech behaviour stems from the fact that the latter two varieties have maintained the standard phoneme /J/

intact while the former replaced it with [zh] (see Shorrab 1981:135–37).

In Bahraini Arabic, /J/ divides the population into Sunnis, the politically dominant group, and Shiis, the subordinate one. The former have a stigmatized pronunciation for /J/ as [y], while the latter a standard one as [j]. His results (Holes 1983:445, 448) have shown that illiterate Shiis, whether urban or rural, were categorical in maintaining [j]. Urban literate Shiis used [y] 18% and rural ones resembled the illiterates in their categorical use of [j]. Sunnis showed a very high frequency of [y] in their speech with the literates employing it 88% of the time and the illiterates 96%.

Finally, in Qatari Arabic, /J/ has three phonetic variants: namely, [j], [zh], and [y], the first being the standard one, the last the stigmatized, and the intermediate half-way between or neutral. /J/ was found to be involved in social and stylistic variation. For instance, his results by education and style (Al-Amadihi 1985:337–338) revealed that the usage of the standard variant [j] was not favoured by any of the three educational groups in informal style. In formal style, however, [j] was favoured more by the university-educated (66%), than by the high-school-educated (58%) or the elementary-school-educated (53%). The range of difference between the two extremes of the educational scale did not exceed 15% and 13% in informal and formal styles respectively – a very narrow range indeed.

9.1.2 This Study

9.1.2.1 The Variable (J) and Education

9.1.2.1.1 Presentation and Description of the Results by Education

The frequency scores for (J) by education and style are shown in Table 9.1 below.

Table 9.1 Percentages for (J) by Education and Style

1. IIS	[Jj]	[zh]	No.
NE	89.78	10.22	352
PE	85.16	14.84	357
SE	77.26	22.74	211
UE	58.46	41.54	597

2. ILS			
NE	52.86	47.14	297
PE	65.72	34.28	315
SE	61.94	38.06	226
UE	26.66	73.34	345

3. WLS			
PE	89.84	10.16	
SE	90.50	9.50	
UE	60.82	39.18	

4. QRS			
NE	80.00	20.00	

Table 9.1 shows that the frequency of the local non-standard vernacular form [zh] varies by social group and style. In IIS, the immigrant and/or standard form [j] is favoured by all groups although the highest-status one makes the least use of it. The percentage of the local form increases in ILS for all groups but is favoured only by the highest-ranking group. It can also be noticed that the two middle groups score less on [zh] than the lowest one which should be otherwise. Finally, [j] scores rise again in WLS but it can be seen that the highest-status group unexpectedly use the standard feature [j]

the least often. QRS scores are unrepresentative as they are based on 5 instances only.

9.1.2.2 Discussion and Interpretation of the Results

Although there is clear evidence in Table 9.1 on social differentiation, this is not consistent as the educational groups redefine their social positions on the educational scale from one style to another. In IIS and WLS/QRS, it can be safely said that the social continuum splits into the UE, on the one hand, versus the rest, on the other. And the clearest division occurs between the non-educated and the university-educated as in IIS.

ILS exhibits more social variation amongst the educational groups. These generally divide into three with the clearest cut being between the UE and the NE. The middle groups are not only virtually the same in their percentage scores but also accommodate to their local addressees slightly less than the lowest group. The crossover pattern of the lowest group where they exceed the values of the two middle groups on [zh] – i.e., in their accommodation to the local addressees, might be associated with sound change in progress. There are many similar cases in the literature in which irregular social stratification patterns involving the WC have been reported. Trudgill (1974:104–12) found some variables in Norwich English in which the LWC crossed over the values of the MWC and UWC.

But the most interesting thing in ILS is not the behaviour of the lowest-status group, the NE, but that of the next-highest group, the SE. We have already seen two cases in which the SE were divergent from the other groups in their speech accommodation to the local addressees: one was called hypercorrection as in the case of (q) (7.2.2.2) and another was called undercorrection as in the case of (D) (8.3.2.2). Both processes had one thing in common: divergence from the local addressees and making less frequent use of the local speech forms. Their speech behaviour on (J) is in conformity with the same process, though of a different kind. Their divergent behaviour in the case of (J) can be termed underdiscorrection. By underdiscorrection is meant the fact that, although the SE group participates in the linguistic process of change by adopting the local non-standard vernacular form [zh], as their IIS and ILS scores show, they are the least to do so. That is, their use of the local and non-standard form is noticeably less

than that of the others. In Table 9.1 above, a comparison of the style shift obtained by the SE in IIS and ILS confirms this statement where they only shifted by 15% towards their local addressees while every other social group exceeded that amount.

The underdiscorrect pattern of the SE is confirmed in WLS. Here they exceed the highest-ranking group in their use of the standard feature [j]. This is a clear case of hypercorrection. In fact, the UE group score the least in this style. The unusual social group pattern in WLS points to sound change in progress in which the adoption of the local linguistic norm is spearheaded by the upper social group and the maintenance of the immigrant and/or standard norm by the second-upper social group.

The fact that the local vernacular form [zh] is used by the highest-status social group the most and that it occurs in reading styles means that it is covertly prestigious. Even the university-educated local group themselves used [zh] near-categorically (96.50%).

Kerswill (1985:152) has reported a similar case in his study of the acquisition of the Bergen dialect by rural immigrants in Norway. In particular, Kerswill found that, although schwa-lowering was stigmatized in Bergen, its usage was more frequent as the occupational status of the immigrant got higher.

Now, as far as style shifting is concerned, Table 9.1 above shows that the effect of the addressee is considerable. The immigrants favour their original standard feature [j] in exclusively immigrant-centred speech exchanges. When these immigrants interlocate with the locals, [j] is considerably reduced in their speech and is even disfavoured by especially the highest-ranking group. It can also be seen in Table 9.1 that reading styles do not produce the highest frequency of the standard and/or the immigrant variant [j]. For most people, their scores on [j] in WLS are as high as theirs in IIS. We have already seen how the variable (D) (in chapter 8 above) had an inversed style pattern.

A comparison of the variable (J) and the variables (q) (7.2.2), the morphophoneme (-k) (8.2.2.2), and (D) (8.3.2) reveals a number of very interesting contrasts in connection with their intersection with education. In conversational speech, the frequency of the local and immigrant forms for all variables depended on style. The local variants

[ʔ], [–k] did not occur in IIS at all while [D] occurred but not more than 8% at the most. But in ILS there was a massive shift to these variants although this varied from one variable to another. The local vernacular variant [zh] behaves in a rather different way, though still with many similarities. Table 9.1 shows that it occurs fairly frequently in IIS especially for the highest-ranking group. Also the amount of shift from IIS to ILS does not exceed 38% in the case of the NE group who shifted the most. This percentage figure is comparatively very low when compared with 100% shift in the case of morphophonemic [–k]. [ʔ] and [D] had also very high amounts of style shifting.

The explanation for this is very simple. First the maintenance of non-standard IGFA features such as [g], [–ch], and [Dh] in higher frequencies in exclusively immigrant-to-immigrant conversations represents language loyalty, group membership, and immigrant identity. This is because these non-standard features are the characteristic features of immigrant speech and immigrant identity. Replacing them with the local features [ʔ], [–k], and [D] respectively is a plain indication that the speakers are not immigrants. But the usage of standard immigrant features such as [j] or their replacement by non-standard local features such as [zh] in this case does not represent immigrant identity, etc. The reason is probably due to the fact that dialects are most known by their non-standard features rather than by their standard ones which are often the subject of comment, laughter, and even ridicule. This is exactly the situation of the dialects of New York City (Labov 1972a), Norwich (Trudgill 1974) and Glasgow (Macaulay 1977), etc. These dialects are all known by the amount of their divergence from the standard variety and not by their convergence with it.

Secondly, as to the smaller amount of style shifting between IIS and ILS in the case of (J), this is due to the fact that since [J] is prestigious in immigrant speech, there is considerably less pressure on the immigrants to modify their speech in the direction of the local vernacular. The non-prestigious status of the other immigrant variants [–k], [Dh], and [g] is responsible for their massive style shifting in ILS.

In the light of this reasoning, it becomes very clear to see why the immigrants used the local variant [zh] in all speech styles, though variably. Two of the remaining

variables to be dealt with later in this chapter reveal similar patterns to the variable (J).

9.1.3 The Variable (J) and Age

9.1.3.1 Presentation and Description of the Results

The frequency scores for (J) by age and style are shown in Table 9.2 below.

Table 9.2 Percentages for (J) by Age and Style

1. IIS	[J]	[zh]	No.
Old	98.78	1.22	703
Young	74.62	25.38	1517

2. ILS			
Old	96.86	3.14	600
Young	50.46	49.54	1181

3. WLS			
Old	93.76	6.24	
Young	77.72	22.28	

4. QRS			
Old	100.00	00.00	
Young	80.00	20.00	

Table 9.2 shows that the two age groups are clearly separated in all of the stylistic levels. In each style the young make less frequent use of their original immigrant feature [j] than the old whose usage of the same feature is near-categorical. QRS scores are unrepresentative as they are based on 4 and 5 instances for the old and the young respectively.

9.1.3.1.2 Discussion and Interpretation of the Results

The progressive use of the local vernacular variant [zh] by the young compared to that of the old indicates sound change in progress. The historical evidence supports this interpretation. Cantineau (1936:24) remarked that [j] was preserved intact in pre-immigrant speech as in SA and made no mention of [zh] at all. The introduction of [zh] into the immigrant speech community can be safely said to have definitely started since 1967 when the immigrants were driven out from the Golan Heights and settled in the new areas of Damascus.

Also the two age groups have different style ranges. The old have one style range while the young have a range of two styles. That is, the young can accommodate to their local addressees and immigrant addressees differently through the different uses of [zh] and [j] respectively. The old cannot.

In our analysis of some of the previous variables such as (q) of chapter 7 and (k) of chapter 8, the old were found to be able to handle a range of two styles: an immigrant style as in IIS and a standard style as in WLS/QRS. The young handled all speech styles, namely, IIS, ILS and WLS/QRS. The reduction of the stylistic range of the old to a minimum of one style in the case of the variable (J) is a consequence of the fact that this variable is standard in their speech originally and so they maintain it throughout. But the basic difference between the young and the old are the inability of the latter to acquire the local speech patterns. This sociolinguistic fact has been repeated in every single case encountered thus far.

Finally, the higher frequency of the standard variant [j] in the speech of the old than that of the young in WLS is unimportant. In fact, neither the old nor the young have shifted towards the standard end of the language continuum. Both of them have in general maintained their IIS scores on [j] well into WLS.

9.1.4 The Variable (J) and Sex

9.1.4.1 Education and Sex

9.1.4.1.1 Presentation and Description of the Results

Table 9.3 shows the percentage scores for (J) by education, sex, and style.

Table 9.3 Percentages for (J) by Education, Sex, and Style

1.	IIS	[J]	[zh]	No.
NE	M	99.24	00.76	133
	F	84.00	16.00	219
PE	M	91.72	8.28	157
	F	80.00	20.00	200
SE	M	83.64	16.36	165
	F	54.34	45.66	46
UE	M	61.14	38.86	332
	F	55.10	44.90	265
2.	ILS			
NE	M	96.72	3.28	122
	F	22.28	77.72	175
PE	M	79.00	21.00	186
	F	46.50	53.50	129
SE	M	80.50	19.50	164
	F	12.90	87.10	62
UE	M	42.34	57.66	163
	F	12.70	87.30	181
3.	WLS			
PE	M	100.00	00.00	
	F	80.00	20.00	
SE	M	90.62	9.38	
	F	90.00	10.00	
UE	M	74.36	25.64	
	F	45.72	54.28	
4.	QRS			
NE	M	100.00	00.00	
	F	75.00	25.00	

It is clearly seen in Table 9.3 that the sexes behave differently concerning the adoption of and shift towards the local non-standard vernacular form [zh]. In IIS, although the immigrant standard speech form [j] is favoured by all, it is less often used by women than men. All women predominantly favour [zh] in ILS while men do not except for the highest-ranking men. Finally, men and women of all educational groups favour [j] in WLS/QRS, except for the highest-ranking women. Quite unexpectedly, women make use of [j] less often than men. (QRS scores are unrepresentative since these are based on only one instance for the only one male against four for women.)

9.1.4.1.2 Discussion and Interpretation of the Results

We have already seen in our sociolinguistic analysis, especially of the variables (q) of chapter 7 and (D) of chapter 8 above, how the two sexes had different social stratification patterns. In the case of (q), women maintained, though with a narrow gap, their social divisions into two groups: an LG and an MG, in conversational styles, namely IIS and ILS. And in the case of (D), women, anomalies apart, were practically socially undivided amongst themselves in IIS and ILS also. Men were found in both of these cases to enlarge their social differences, especially in ILS where four or three social groups could be distinguished. It has also been found that women adopted the linguistic variants of and accommodated to their local addressees more often than men in each case.

These principles are generally at work on this variable as well. It is clearly shown in Table 9.3 that the two sexes stratify differently. That women tend to narrow down their social differentiation is clearly seen by comparing their IIS and ILS scores. In the former, they are split into two large groups: the NE and the PE, on the one hand, and the SE and the UE, on the other. The two groups are divided by a gap of 30% but there are no differences within each subgroup. This 30% gap is narrowed down to 10% in ILS between the non-educated women versus the secondary- and university-educated ones. The fact that the primary-educated females score lower than the non-educated females is unimportant and is due to the addressee constraints mentioned above (8.3).

Men, on the other hand, stand in sharp contrast to women. They are divided into four and three groups in IIS and ILS respectively. Moreover, in both styles, the

university-educated are set off from the remaining groups whose scores are very close to each other. In ILS, the SE are the same as the PE in their use of the local form [zh].

As to their style shift, the two sexes are also clearly differentiated. The influence of the local addressee seems to be sex-based. A comparison of men's and women's scores in IIS and ILS in Table 9.3 above shows that women of every educational group considerably increased their use of the local variant [zh] in the latter style. The non-educated females shifted towards their local addressees the most (62%). As for men, only the university-educated men showed any signs of accommodation to their local addressees. This was minimal and did not exceed 20% compared to 43% for the university-educated women.

The speech behaviour of the males of the next-highest group, the SE, is interesting. In two previous cases, namely, the variables (q) and (D), they were found to hypercorrect and undercorrect respectively where they diverged from their local addressee's speech norms. The variable (J) gives further confirmation to the hypercorrect and undercorrect patterns of the SE, all of which are male-centred. The underdiscorrect pattern of the SE referred to above (9.1.2) is definitely male-based. Table 9.3 above shows that they did not participate in adapting their speech towards their local addressees but rather maintained the same scores on [zh] in both IIS and ILS.

Thus women are clearly in the lead of linguistic change in this particular instance, a change which is effected in the direction of the local vernacular. At the vanguard of this linguistic change stand the highest-ranking women. The assumption of this leading role by these women is particularly manifested in WLS. The fact that they make the least frequent use of the standard form [j] does not imply that they are less sensitive to prestigious forms. We have already seen how in the case of (D) the highest-ranking women favoured the prestigious form [D] the most (8.3.4) in WLS while everybody else did not. In fact the association of the local vernacular form [zh] with the highest-ranking group in general and women in particular, in addition to its occurrence in WLS, is a clear indication that it is covertly prestigious. The reversed sex pattern in WLS and even QRS on the whole indicates sound change in progress where women are

moving away from their immigrant and/or standard feature [j] towards the local, non-standard but covertly prestigious variant [zh] faster, greater and more often than men who generally lag behind (cf. Trudgill 1974:108-9; 1986:42-43).

9.1.4.2 Sex and the Old Group

9.1.4.2.1 Presentation and Description of the Results

Table 9.4 shows the distribution of (J) by sex and style for the old group.

Table 9.4 Percentages for (J) by Sex and Style for the Old Group

1. IIS	[j]	[zh]	No.
Men	99.00	1.00	461
Women	98.34	1.66	242

2. ILS			
Men	97.00	3.00	360
Women	96.66	3.34	240

3. WLS			
Men	93.76	6.24	
Women	00.00	00.00	

4. QRS			
Men	00.00	00.00	
Women	100.00	00.00	

It can be clearly seen from Table 9.4 that the old men and women are undifferentiated and equal with respect to their near-categorical maintenance of the immigrant speech form [j] throughout.

The non-significance of sex for the old group has already been established for all the previous variables and no further comments will be made here on it.

9.1.5 The Variable (J) and Area

9.1.5.1 Presentation and Description of the Results

The distribution of (J) by area and style is given in Table 9.5 below.

Table 9.5 Percentages for (J) by Area and Style

1. IIS	[j]	[zh]	No.
Urban	61.62	38.38	516
Suburban	81.32	18.68	1001

2. ILS			
Urban	29.84	70.16	362
Suburban	59.52	40.48	820

3. WLS			
Urban	70.38	29.62	
Suburban	81.00	19.00	

4. QRS			
Urban	00.00	100.00	
Suburban	83.00	17.00	

Table 9.5 shows that the two areas are clearly separated. In each speech style urban immigrants make use of the local form [zh] more often than suburban immigrants. The two areas are more differentiated in ILS (30%) than in IIS (20%). QRS scores are unrepresentative as they are based on one instance for the urban group and six instances for the suburban one.

9.1.5.2 Discussion and Interpretation of the Results

This is the first variable on which the social parameter of area seems to be important in differentiating between urban and suburban immigrants where the former use

the local variant [zh] more often than the latter. On all the previous variables the adoption of the local variants did not differ by area. In all cases the differences were either non-existent or negligible and qualitative. The apparent differentiation in this case can be dismissed as unimportant also and especially for women. A division by sex of the above scores summarized in Table 9.5 has shown that urban women preceded suburban women in their use of the local variant [zh] by about 17% in IIS and 9% in ILS, but in WLS the picture was reversed in favour of the latter who lead by 12% in the same direction. The males remained or even became more widely separated: urban men used [zh] 35.4% in IIS, 57.54% in ILS and 31% in WLS against 14.24%, 14.48% and 5.48% for suburban men respectively. Probably the increased use of [zh] by the urban male group is due to the fact that there were only four speakers in it versus ten in the suburban one.

9.1.6 Summary

The main points concerning the sociolinguistic analysis of (J) can be summarized as follows:

1. Education and social differentiation. Education split the social continuum most clearly into two groups across the various speech styles: i.e. the university-educated versus the rest. The other social groups were either negligibly differentiated such as the NE and the PE in IIS, or the PE and the SE in ILS, or merged into one another such as the PE and the SE in WLS. Two irregular social differentiation patterns have been noted: in ILS the lowest group scored higher on [zh] than the two middle groups and in WLS the highest group scored the lowest on [j]. The speech behaviour of the next-highest group in ILS and WLS has been of considerable interest: in the former style it has been called underdiscorrection and in the latter hypercorrection. Both types of social irregularity point to sound change in progress.

2. Age. The variable (J) is involved in sound change in progress as the comparison between our data of the two age groups and Cantineau's historical data has revealed. The direction of this change is towards the local vernacular form [zh] and this has started since 1967 as it is mainly associated with the young. The extent to which

this linguistic change has been carried out is much greater than that of the variables (q), (-k) and (D) in all of which the use of the local vernacular forms has been located mainly in ILS. This has been explained as due to the diagnostic nature of the variables concerned. The non-standard and/or stigmatized variants of immigrant speech such as [g], [-ch], and [Dh] are more resistant to the change because they represent immigrant identity, language loyalty and group membership than are the standard immigrant speech variants, such as the present one [j], which do not have such properties.

3. Sex. It has been found that women stratified differently from men by reducing their social divisions from two groups in IIS to almost one group in ILS save one minor exception. Men remained split into at least three groups as in ILS. Also the underdiscorrect pattern of the SE was male-centred. Regarding their language shift, although both sexes of all the educational groups were participating in this, it was the women who led in the adoption of the local vernacular form.

4. Style shift. The frequency of the local vernacular form [zh] depended on many factors. The effect of the local addressee produced no response on the part of the old group and all the male educational groups, apart from the highest-ranking one. All women of the four social groups accommodated extensively to their local addressess and that is why this has been described as mainly sex-based. Finally, WLS and QRS had a generally reversed sex pattern with women favouring [j] less often than men which indicates sound change in progress. Also the SE hypercorrected the most in WLS.

5. Area was unimportant for women in particular.

9.2 The Variable (Dh)

9.2.1 Introduction

No Arabic sociolinguistic study has thus far handled the variable (Dh). However, in two studies of Egyptian Arabic (Schmidt 1974) and Palestinian Arabic (Shorrab 1981), some reference was made to this variable in their analysis of the interdentals as a whole, namely, /th/, /dh/, and /Dh/. As all these three consonants were grouped together under one variable, it is very difficult to see what the contribution of /Dh/ to the overall picture was. Their results are summarized one by one below.

In Egyptian Arabic, the interdentalals /th/, /dh/ and /Dh/, split into alveolar stops and fricatives. That is, /th/ splits into [t and s], /dh/ into [d and z] and /Dh/ into [D and Z]. Schimdt (1974:95–96) found that the frequency of the fricatives [s, z, and Z] was higher in reading style (61%) and word list (59%) than in careful style (45%) and casual style (22%). He also found that the educated speakers used the standard variants [th, dh, and Dh] more often than the less educated or uneducated ones.

The distribution of the interdentalals varies amongst the three varieties of Palestinian Arabic. In Bedouin and Fallaheen varieties, the interdentalals are retained intact but in Madani speech they split into alveolar stops and fricatives as in Egyptian Arabic above. Shorrab (1981:165) has shown that the usage of the stops in casual and careful styles was near–categorical for all his Madani speakers. In reading and word list styles, the standard variants [th, dh, and Dh] were categorical for all Madani informants.

9.2.2 This Study

9.2.2.1 Analyzing (Dh) by Education

9.2.2.1.1 Presentation and Description of the Results by Education

The distribution of (Dh) by education and style is given in Table 9.6 below.

Table 9.6 Percentages for (Dh) by Education and Style

1. IIS	[Dh]	[Z]	[D]	No.
NE	96.72	3.28	00.00	61
PE	100.00	00.00	00.00	50
SE	100.00	00.00	00.00	55
UE	86.84	11.40	1.76	109

2. ILS				
NE	51.78	17.86	30.36	56
PE	30.76	42.32	26.92	56
SE	86.84	2.64	10.52	40
UE	16.12	64.52	19.36	66
UE*	1.92	67.30	30.78	

3. WLS				
PE	96.86	2.10	1.04	
SE	98.04	1.96	00.00	
UE	90.00	9.10	0.90	

4. QRS				
NE	100.00	00.00	00.00	

Table 9.6 shows that the distribution of the phonetic variants vary by social group and speech style. The standard and/or immigrant speech form [Dh] is near-categorical for all social groups except for the highest-ranking one in IIS, WLS and QRS (only two instances occurred in QRS, though). The local vernacular forms [Z] and [D] are favoured in ILS by all social groups in general except for the next-highest one. And the UE* local group categorically lack [Dh] in their speech.

9.2.2.1.2 Discussion and Interpretation of the Results

The variable (Dh) is related to the variable (D) (8.3) phonetically and sociolinguistically. On the one hand, /D/ has merged with /Dh/, the subject of the present analysis, at least in pre-immigrant speech. Under the influence of DA, on the other, the variable (D) is being standardized while (Dh) is being de-standardized due to the fact that it is lacking in DA altogether and is replaced by [Z and D]. Thus the two variables make IGFA and DA stand in opposition to each other with respect to their standard and non-standard status.

The previous sociolinguistic findings concerning the variable (D) as it intersected with education and style can be briefly mentioned as follows. It has been found that social differentiation amongst the four educational groups took place mainly in ILS where the social continuum was divided into UE, PE, NE and SE with the latter two forming more or less one group and the PE closer to the UE than to any other group. Also an undercorrect pattern involving the next-highest group has been noted in which they used the standard variant [D] even less than the lowest-ranking group, the NE. As far as style is concerned, the merged, non-standard, immigrant variant [Dh] was near-categorically favoured in IIS while the local, standard variant [D] was favoured in ILS. WLS and QRS had an inversed style pattern where [D] decreased for all groups (for further details see 8.3.2 above).

Most of this information can be seen at work on the present variable (Dh), as summarized in Table 9.6 above. First, there is hardly any social stratification in IIS and WLS/QRS apart from the fact that the upper group are set off from the rest by a minor 10% difference. (In WLS, even the difference can be dispelled as all the tokens on [Z and D] came from one informant while all other members of this group were categorical in their use of [Dh].) In ILS, all social groups are clearly distinguished with the higher the social status, the greater the frequency of the local non-standard forms [Z and D]. Two things can further be noted: (i) the PE is closer to the UE than to any other group, and (ii) the next-highest group use [Z and D] the least.

The speech behaviour of the next-highest group is remarkably interesting not only

because they shifted 13% on the local non-standard variants [Z and D] as against 70% by the university- and primary-educated each but also because this is part of a general pattern that has already been repeated several times on a number of variables. It has first been encountered in our analysis of the variable (q) of chapter 7 (7.2.2.2) where in ILS the SE predominantly opted for the standard variant [q] in place of the local non-standard one [ʔ] and this has been described as hypercorrection. In our analysis of the variable (D) of chapter 8 (8.3.2.2) the SE did not favour in ILS also the usage of the local and/or standard variant [D] but alternated it with the immigrant non-standard but covertly prestigious variant [Dh] in a fifty-fifty sort of way and this has been called undercorrection. Finally, in our analysis of the variable (J) of this chapter (9.1.2.1) we found in ILS also a third type of speech behaviour for the SE which we called underdiscorrection by which we meant that the SE utilized the equivalent non-standard non-correct local form for their immigrant standard form the least of all the educational groups. All these three patterns shared one common thing: i.e. divergence from and resistance to the local addressee's speech norms.

The speech behaviour of the SE regarding the variable (Dh) is definitely underdiscorrection in which they employ the non-standard and local variants the least. Thus this gives support to the (J) pattern referred to above. Moreover, its affinity with the above-mentioned undercorrect pattern of (D) cannot be ignored due to the phonetic and sociolinguistic interrelatedness of both (D) and (Dh). In fact, had the (Dh) pattern been otherwise for the SE, it would have been very difficult to justify the existence of the undercorrect pattern altogether. As has been the case with the other patterns, this underdiscorrection indicates sound change in progress involving the maintenance of the immigrant variant [Dh] and the shift to the local ones [Z and D].

The underdiscorrection behaviour of the SE group is confirmed in WLS in which their scores on the standard form [Dh] exceed those of the highest-ranking group: i.e. hypercorrection. A similar pattern occurred for (J) as well (9.1.2.1).

Secondly, in relation to stylistic variation, the variable (Dh) behaves in a like manner to the phonetically-related variable (D) in conversational styles. In both cases the use of

the immigrant features is near-categorical in IIS but these are disfavoured for most social groups in ILS. In reading styles, however, the two variables are wide apart. WLS and QRS had a reversed style pattern for (D) but are quite regular for (Dh). The reason is very simple because the latter variable is for the most part retained in immigrant speech while the former has only recently been acquired thanks to the impact of DA on IGFA in the main.

9.2.3 The Variable (Dh) and Age

9.2.3.1 Presentation and Description of the Results

The frequency scores for (Dh) by age and style are given in Table 9.7 below.

Table 9.7 Percentages for (Dh) by Age and Style

1. IIS	[Dh]	[Z]	[D]	No.
Old	100.00	00.00	00.00	105
Young	93.92	5.36	0.72	275

2. ILS				
Old	95.10	0.98	3.92	106
Young	46.18	33.00	20.82	218

3. WLS				
Old	100.00	00.00	00.00	
Young	93.82	4.24	1.94	

4. QRS				
Old	100.00	00.00	00.00	
Young	10.00	00.00	00.00	

Table 9.7 shows that the old group maintain their categorical use of the immigrant and/or standard feature [Dh] throughout. (Note that their QRS scores were based on 3

tokens only.) The young vary their use of (Dh) by style. In IIS, WLS and QRS (the latter's score based on two tokens only), [Dh] is near-categorical but in ILS the use of the local non-standard variants [Z and D] is favoured, though marginally.

9.2.3.2 Discussion and Interpretation of Results

In Cantineau's (1936:18) description of pre-immigrant speech the phoneme /Dh/, like all the interdental /dh/ and /th/, was preserved intact without any trace of passing into stops or sibilants. The conversational speech data given in Table 9.7 above shows that [Z and D] have entered into immigrant speech and this clearly indicates sound change in progress. The location of the local variants [Z and D] mainly in the speech of the young group is a strong indication that this has happened since 1967 due to the influence of DA on IGFA.

Finally, the inability of the old group to accommodate to the locals is clearly demonstrated in Table 9.7 above. This pattern is in line with the findings for all the previous variables.

9.2.4 The variable (Dh) and Sex

9.2.4.1 Sex and Education

9.2.4.1.1 Presentation and Description of the Results

The percentage scores for (Dh) by education, sex, and style are shown in Table 9.8 below.

Table 9.8 Percentages for (Dh) by Education, Sex and Style

1.	IIS	[Dh]	[Z]	[D]	No.
NE	M	100.00	00.00	00.00	19
	F	95.24	4.76	00.00	42
PE	M	100.00	00.00	00.00	25
	F	100.00	00.00	00.00	25
SE	M	100.00	00.00	00.00	45
	F	100.00	00.00	00.00	10
UE	M	85.00	11.66	3.34	55
	F	88.88	11.12	00.00	54
2.	ILS				
NE	M	100.00	00.00	00.00	20
	F	25.00	27.78	47.22	36
PE	M	25.00	46.88	28.12	32
	F	40.00	35.00	25.00	24
SE	M	90.00	00.00	10.00	32
	F	75.00	12.50	12.50	8
UE	M	20.00	65.72	14.28	35
	F	11.12	62.96	25.92	31
3.	WLS				
PE	M	95.84	00.00	4.16	
	F	97.88	2.12	00.00	
SE	M	100.00	00.00	00.00	
	F	91.60	00.00	8.34	
UE	M	80.00	18.18	1.82	
	F	100.00	00.00	00.00	
4.	QRS				
NE	M	00.00	00.00	00.00	
	F	100.00	00.00	00.00	

Table 9.8 shows that the two sexes are undifferentiated in their use of [Dh] in IIS and WLS. (The lesser scores on [Dh] for the UE men in WLS compared to the UE women are unimportant as all the males but one were categorical in using [Dh]. Also the same applies to the SE woman whose scores are less than men's which are probably due to lack of attention as the phonemes /D/ and /Dh/ are orthographically similar in Arabic.) In ILS, however, women of all groups accommodate to their local addressees more often than men except for one case, namely the PE females.

9.2.4.1.2 Discussion and Interpretation of the Results

The results obtained for the variable (D) by education, sex and style (8.3.4) are generally repeated for this variable as well. There it has been found that in ILS women not only used the local and/or standard form [D] more often than men but also stratified in a different way by reducing their social differences to less than 5% between the top and the bottom groups while men kept themselves apart by splitting into four groups with the PE and the UE closer to each other (9% difference) while the SE undercorrected the most and the NE did not shift at all.

The variable (Dh) shows a quite similar pattern. In ILS, women can be seen from Table 9.8 above to be minimally differentiated by a small gap of 14% as between the non-educated and university-educated ones. (The fact that both groups use the local variants [Z and D] differently is beyond the point.) The exceptionally higher gap in the case of the primary-educated and the secondary-educated is unimportant and is due in the latter case to the fact that few instances (only 8) of (Dh) have been elicited and in the former case to the fact that some of these females were recorded with their children in their arms (see 8.3.4). In contrast to the females, males are widely differentiated into three groups: the non-educated who do not shift away from [Dh] at all and are separated by a big gap (75–80%) from the primary- and university-educated, who are negligibly and minimally set off from each other (5% only). The secondary-educated are the third group whose underdiscorrection amounts to 10% only. Thus the underdiscorrection pattern of the SE is essentially male-centred. (The apparently high [Dh] score for the SE females cannot be called underdiscorrection due to the few numbers of instances

elicited.)

As far as their style shifting is concerned, both men and women of all social groups have demonstrated an ability to switch their styles except for the non-educated men who remained categorical [Dh]-users throughout. The effect of the local addressee has resulted in increasing the frequency of the local variants [Z and D] though more in the speech of women than that of men with the exception of the primary-educated females. For instance, the university-educated men shifted their speech by 60% from IIS to ILS while in the same contexts, women shifted by 77%. Also the difference in the range of style shift between IIS and ILS for men and women of the extreme points of the social scale is very narrow (i.e. 70–77%) for the latter but very large (i.e. 0.00–65%) for the former.

The conclusion to be derived from this is that, although in IIS and WLS/QRS men and women are generally equal, women lead in the adoption of the local variants and adapting their speech towards their local addressees. In the vanguard of this change are the university-educated females in particular and the upper social group in general.

9.2.4.2 Sex and the Old Group

9.2.4.2.1 Presentation and Description of the Results

The percentage scores for (Dh) by sex and style for the old group are shown in Table 9.9 below.

Table 9.9 Percentages for (Dh) by Sex and Style for the Old Group

1. IIS	[Dh]	[Z]	[D]	No.
M	100.00	00.00	00.00	73
F	100.00	00.00	00.00	30

2. ILS				
M	91.24	1.76	7.00	57
F	100.00	00.00	00.00	49

3. WLS				
M	100.00	00.00	00.00	
F	00.00	00.00	00.00	

4. QRS				
M	100.00	00.00	00.00	
F	00.00	00.00	00.00	

Sex is insignificant for the old group in all styles. The apparent [Z and D] scores for the old men are equally unimportant and should not be taken to imply that they switch to their local addressees more often than women because these scores were based on five instances or so said in imitation of and repeated after the local speakers by the two semi-literate informants encountered in our discussion of the variable (q) above (7.3.2.2).

9.2.5 The variable (Dh) and Area

9.2.5.1 Presentation and Description of the Results

The distribution of (Dh) by area and style is given in Table 9.10 below.

Table 9.10 Percentages for (Dh) by Area and Style

1. IIS	[Dh]	[Z]	[D]	No.
Urban	85.00	13.00	2.00	100
Suburban	98.88	1.12	00.00	175

2. ILS				
Urban	38.46	39.74	21.80	80
Suburban	50.34	28.96	20.68	138

3. WLS				
Urban	88.78	11.22	00.00	
Suburban	97.46	00.00	2.54	

4. QRS				
Urban	100.00	00.00	00.00	
Suburban	00.00	00.00	00.00	

Table 9.10 shows that urban immigrants make use of the local vernacular forms [Z and D] more often than suburban immigrants. The difference between both groups in conversational styles is about 13%.

9.2.5.2 Discussion and Interpretation of the Results

As has been the case with the variable (J) above, area differences are insignificant for women. More precisely, while in WLS women of both areas had a score of 98% on [Dh] each, in conversational styles their differences, though qualitative, were inconsistent where in IIS urban women led in the adoption of the local forms by 10% but in ILS suburban women led by 2%. For men, the differences were consistent where urban men preceded suburban men, by 14% in IIS, 20% in ILS (and 17% in WLS) as far as their usage of the local forms [Z and D] are concerned.

9.2.6 Summary

The main points in relation to the sociolinguistic analysis of the variable (Dh) can be summarized as follows.

1. Education and Social Differentiation. The social continuum divides after style. In IIS and WLS/QRS, the social continuum is divided into the upper group versus the rest, though with a marginal gap of 10% at the most in between. But all four groups can be distinguished in ILS with the higher the social status, the greater the use of the local and/or non-standard features [Z and D] except for the second upper group who employed them the least (13%). This was called underdiscorrection which is in line with their hypercorrection and undercorrection on previous variables such as (q), (D), and (J) which are all divergent from the local addressee's speech norms and indicate sound change in progress.

2. Age. Sound change in progress is confirmed for (Dh) by comparing our age groups' results with those of the historical record of pre-immigrant speech. In the latter [Dh] was preserved intact but in the former it is used variably with [Z and D] under the influence of DA on IGFA. The usage of the local vernacular forms is made by the young group in the main.

3. Sex. It has been found that while women minimized their social differences, men maximised them. For instance, the gap difference between the non-educated and university-educated women in ILS was 14% against 80% for the corresponding male groups. In short, women, deviations apart, split into two marginally-separated groups with the NE, on the one hand, and the UE, on the other. Men were divided into two (or three) widely-separated gorups: the PE and UE, on the one side, and the SE and NE on the other. The underdiscorrection pattern of the SE is basically male-centred. Finally, with respect to their language shift women led in the adoption of the local vernacular features.

5. Style shift. The immigrant and/or standard feature [Dh] was categorical or semi-categorical in WLS/QRS and IIS for all educational groups, the young and the old. The non-educated young men and the old group did not adapt their speech towards the

locals at all. The rest accommodated variably: women of all educational groups adapted more frequently than men who varied considerably amongst themselves with the next-highest ranking men adapting the least.

6. Area. There were no significant differences between urban and suburban women. Urban men, however, showed higher frequency of the local vernacular features [Z and D] in their speech than did suburban men.

9.3 The Variable (dh)

9.3.1 Introduction

The variable (dh) has been sociolinguistically described, in addition to the general treatments of Schmidt (1974) and Shorrab (1981) referred to above (9.2.1) by Holes (1981, 1983) in his study of Bahraini Arabic. The standard form [dh] occurs categorically in Sunni speech but varies with [d] in Shii speech. The maintenance of the non-standard variant [d] in Shii speech is governed by the degree of literacy of the speaker in the main and by the area of his residence to a lesser extent. Holes (1983:445) found that rural illiterate (0.97) and urban illiterate (0.83) Shii speakers maintained [d] far much higher than rural literate (0.14) and urban literate (0.22) Shii speakers. Area, it can be seen from the figures, plays a minor role: on the whole rural literates use [d] less often than urban literates in complete contrast to the illiterate group where the rural illiterates employ it more often than the urban illiterates.

The decrease in the usage of the dental stop by the literate Shiis in particular cannot be determined whether it is due to the influence of Sunni speech or education, especially in the absence of controlled speech interviews between Shiis and Sunnis, on the one hand, and Shiis and Shiis, on the other. But the decrease of [d]-use by the literate group in general and the rural literates in particular strongly suggests that this is due to education rather than anything else.

In the analysis to be presented below, we will show how local and/or non-standard speech (i.e. DA) directly influences immigrant and/or standard speech (IGFA) and the role played by different addressees in this matter.

9.3.2 This Study

9.3.2.1 Analyzing (dh) by Education

9.3.2.1.1 Presentation and Description of the Results by Education

The percentage scores for (dh) by education and style are given in Table 9.11 below.

Table 9.11 Percentages for (dh) by Education and Style

1. IIS	[dh]	[z]	[d]	No.
NE	87.34	12.66	00.00	158
PE	82.00	15.40	2.60	155
SE	85.72	12.08	2.20	91
UE	74.40	21.80	3.80	211

2. ILS				
NE	46.08	23.48	30.44	115
PE	27.28	24.24	48.48	99
SE	62.36	17.64	20.00	85
UE	15.14	42.76	42.10	152
UE*	00.00	65.22	34.78	

3. WLS				
PE	100.00	00.00	00.00	
SE	00.00	00.00	00.00	
UE	100.00	00.00	00.00	

4. QRS				
NE	100.00	00.00	00.00	

Table 9.11 shows that the frequency of the standard and/or immigrant variant [dh]

alters with style and social group. It is predominantly favoured in IIS and is categorical in WLS and QRS (although in WLS data is completely lacking for the SE). [dh] is, however, disfavoured in ILS except for the next upper group. The upper group can be seen to make the least use of [dh] in conversational styles – i.e. IIS and ILS. Finally, although the local and/or non-standard variants [z and d] are equally distributed in ILS, especially in the speech of the UE, the former is used more often than the latter in IIS. It can also be seen that the university-educated local group (UE*) make no use whatsoever of the standard and/or immigrant form [dh].

9.3.2.2 Discussion and Interpretation of the Results

There is evidence on social differentiation in conversational styles only. The upper group is marginally set off from the rest with a gap of about 10% inbetween in IIS. Social differences emerge clearly in ILS in which all four social groups can be distinguished with the higher the social status the lesser the use of the immigrant and/or standard variant [dh] or the greater the use of the local variants [z and d] with the exception of the next-highest group whose speech behaviour will be commented on below. It can also be seen from Table 9.11 above that the upper and second lower groups are as close to each other (12% difference) as are the second upper group and lower group (16%) while the two larger groupings are more widely separated inbetween.

As far as the speech behaviour of the second-highest group is concerned, this falls within what has been described so far as underdiscorrection. In our analysis of the two previous variables (J) and (Dh) of this chapter we have seen how the next-highest group have shifted in the direction of their local addressees by using their non-standard variants the least and how this shift from IIS to ILS amounted to 15% on (J) and 14% on (Dh) (see Tables 9.1 and 9.6 respectively). The same happens on this variable where it can be seen from Table 9.11 above that the SE adapted their speech in ILS towards their local addressees by 23% as against 60% for the UE, 54% for the PE, and 41% for the NE. This unusual social differentiation pattern (i.e. underdiscorrection) indicates sound change in progress which involves the maintenance of the original immigrant and/or standard form [dh] and shift to the acquired local vernacular forms [d] and [z], a shift

which is led by the upper group.

Finally, as for stylistic variation, this is regular for all groups. Verbal exchanges between immigrants and immigrants are characterized by the predominance of the immigrant and/or standard form [dh] while interactions involving the immigrants and the locals are noted for the dominance of the local and/or non-standard forms [z and d] except for the secondary-educated group. And in WLS and QRS, the use of the standard feature [dh] is categorical for all.

9.3.3 The Variable (dh) and Age

9.3.3.1 Presentation and Description of the Results

The distribution of (dh) by age and style is given in Table 9.12 below.

Table 9.12 Percentages for (dh) by Age and Style

1. IIS	[dh]	[z]	[d]	No.
Old	92.88	6.40	0.72	422
Young	81.62	16.10	2.28	615

2. ILS				
Old	94.26	5.42	0.32	316
Young	34.60	29.00	36.40	451

3. WLS				
Old	00.00	00.00	00.00	
Young	100.00	00.00	00.00	

4. QRS				
Old	100.00	00.00	00.00	
Young	100.00	00.00	00.00	

Table 9.12 shows that the two age groups are clearly differentiated in conversational

styles but not in reading styles. In the former the old maintain a semi-categorical use of the immigrant and/or standard variant [dh] whereas the young not only make use of it less often than the old but also reduce their use of it sharply in ILS. In the latter, the use of the standard form [dh] is categorical for all (although WLS data for the old group is lacking).

9.3.3.2 Discussion and Interpretation of the Results

As neither [z] nor [d] were attested by Cantineau (1936:18) in his study of pre-immigrant speech in which [dh] was the exclusively used form, their appearance in the conversational speech of the old and especially the young indicates sound change in progress. The exact date at which these forms entered 'immigrant' speech cannot be firmly determined, unlike the case with almost all the other variables. A much earlier date than 1967 can be suggested for the entrance of [z and d] into immigrant speech and it is likely that this coincided with the opening of government schools from 1951 onwards as these schools were exclusively run by teachers from other parts of the country whose different speech patterns should have definitely left some marks on pre-immigrant speech on the Golan Heights. One piece of evidence in support of this hypothesis is the pronunciation of the word [ʔusta:dh] 'teacher'. This word is categorically pronounced as [ʔista:z] in conversational speech by every immigrant speaker without even any one single exception to the contrary. It goes without saying, nonetheless, that the influence of DA in this regard is unsurmountable without which it is very difficult to see how this process of linguistic change would have been carried out at all.

As to their style shift, it can be seen from Table 9.12 above that, although the old use [z and d] in their speech to some extent, they are absolutely unable, unlike the young, to accommodate to their local addressees. This pattern has been repeated everytime for every linguistic variable examined thus far and therefore needs no further elaboration.

9.3.4 The Variable (dh) and Sex

9.3.4.1 Education and Sex

9.3.4.1.1 Presentation and Description of the Results

The frequency scores for (dh) by education, sex, and style are shown in Table 9.13 below.

Table 9.13 Percentages for (dh) by Education, Sex and Style

1.	IIS	[dh]	[z]	[d]	No.
NE	M	88.60	11.40	00.00	79
	F	86.00	14.00	00.00	79
PE	M	86.48	10.82	2.70	74
	F	77.78	19.76	2.46	81
SE	M	89.48	7.90	2.62	76
	F	66.66	33.34	00.00	15
UE	M	81.82	14.88	3.30	121
	F	64.44	31.12	4.44	90

2.	ILS				
NE	M	83.34	16.66	00.00	54
	F	13.12	29.50	57.38	61
PE	M	31.14	24.60	44.26	61
	F	21.06	23.68	55.26	38
SE	M	72.50	13.00	14.50	69
	F	18.74	37.50	43.76	16
UE	M	26.92	35.90	37.18	78
	F	2.70	50.00	47.30	74

3.	WLS				
PE	M	100.00	00.00	00.00	
	F	100.00	00.00	00.00	
SE	M	00.00	00.00	00.00	
	F	00.00	00.00	00.00	
UE	M	100.00	00.00	00.00	
	F	100.00	00.00	00.00	

4.	QRS				
NE	M	100.00	00.00	00.00	
	F	100.00	00.00	00.00	

Table 9.13 shows that, in conversational styles, the two sexes are differentiated with respect to their maintenance of and shift to the immigrant and/or standard form [dh] and the local and/or non-standard forms [z and d] respectively. In both IIS and ILS women of all the educational groups utilize the local forms more frequently than men. But all are equal in WLS and QRS in which the standard form [dh] is categorically employed.

9.3.4.1.2 Discussion and Interpretation of the Results

At various points in our sociolinguistic analysis of the variables in previous sections of this thesis, it has been found that men and women had different social differentiation patterns in which the latter tended to sharply reduce their social differences to a bare minimum of five or ten percentage points especially when talking with the local addressees while the former increased such social differences. This is no clearer than on this variable. Table 9.13 shows that in IIS women split into an LG with the NE–PE, on the one hand, and an MG with the SE–UE, on the other. Within each sub-group the differences are negligible but between the two larger groupings they reach about 20%. These differences are narrowed down in ILS to 10% as between the UE and the NE. (The fact that the middle groups deviate a bit from that figure is unimportant.) The consistency and regularity of these patterns for women who are usually differentiated socially only minimally, marginally and insignificantly would lead one to assume that there is no social stratification amongst them in the strict sense of the word. Immigrant women of all educational ranks give the same outer impression on non-immigrants and outsiders as far as language use is concerned.

Men, on the other hand, are just the opposite. While there is no clear evidence on their social differentiation in IIS as all make more or less equal use of the immigrant and/or standard feature [dh], their differences in ILS are maximized where they split into at least three groups: the PE and the UE which are undifferentiated from each other (4%), on the one hand, the SE, and the NE, on the other. The NE is separated from the UE by 57% and this contrasts sharply with that which holds for women of a similar ranking.

The underdiscorrect pattern of the SE is clearly male-based like all other similar patterns already encountered. This can be seen from the closeness of their scores to those of the non-educated males (11% difference) and remoteness from those of the primary- and university-educated ones (well over 41% difference) as well as those of the corresponding secondary-educated females (over 50% difference).

With respect to their style shifting, men and women of all the educational groups equally participate in categorically using the standard form [dh] in WLS/QRS. In their

accommodation to the local addressees, while all women strongly favour the local forms [z and d] over the immigrant form [dh], men vary not only with regard to the fact that the non-educated hardly shift at all and the secondary-educated switch relatively little, but also relative to the optimal level of their style shifting. For instance, the non-educated females accommodate higher than the university-educated men (i.e. 14% difference).

Thus as far as their language use is concerned in general, women take the lead in introducing the local vernacular forms into their speech or in moving away from their immigrant dialect towards the local one. The highest-ranking women are in the vanguard of this linguistic change who are categorical users of the local forms in ILS (97%).

9.3.4.2 Sex and the Old Group

9.3.4.2.1 Presentation and Description of the Results

The distribution of (dh) by sex and style for the old group is shown in Table 9.14 below.

Table 9.14 Percentages for (dh) by Sex and Style for the Old Group

1. IIS	[dh]	[z]	[d]	No.
M	91.00	8.30	0.70	289
F	96.96	2.28	0.76	133

2. ILS				
M	92.44	7.00	0.56	185
F	96.90	3.10	00.00	131

3. QRS				
M	100.00	00.00	00.00	
F	100.00	00.00	00.00	

Table 9.14 shows that sex differences are insignificant for the old group. Both make an equally (near-)categorical use of the immigrant and/or standard form [dh] throughout.

(There is no available data on WLS for the males.)

These insignificant sex differences have already been repeated on the previous variables. No further discussion is therefore needed.

9.3.5 The Variable (dh) and Area

9.3.5.1 Presentation and Description of the Results

The distribution of (dh) by area and style is shown in Table 9.15 below.

Table 9.15 Percentages for (dh) by Area and Style

1. IIS	[dh]	[z]	[d]	No.
Urban	75.46	20.38	4.16	216
Suburban	84.96	13.78	1.26	399

2. ILS				
Urban	29.40	35.30	35.30	153
Suburban	37.24	25.84	36.92	298

3. WLS				
Urban	100.00	00.00	00.00	
Suburban	100.00	00.00	00.00	

4. QRS				
Urban	100.00	00.00	00.00	
Suburban	100.00	00.00	00.00	

Table 9.15 shows that urban immigrants are differentiated from suburban ones in conversational styles where the former make less frequent use of the immigrant and/or standard feature [dh].

9.3.5.2 Discussion and Interpretation of the Results

The differences between urban and suburban immigrants can be dismissed as

unimportant especially when divided by sex. As was the case with the variable (Dh) above (9.2.5), for urban and suburban women the differences are inconsistent where in IIS the former led in the use of the local forms by 10% but in ILS the latter led by 13%. Urban men, however, maintained their lead in the adoption of the local forms over suburban men by 10% and 14% in IIS and ILS respectively. This difference is qualitative, though.

9.3.6 Summary

The main findings of our sociolinguistic analysis of the variable (dh) can be summarized as follows:

1. Education and social differentiation. The social continuum split differently with style. While in IIS the social groups were divided into the upper group versus the rest, the full spectrum of the educational scale could be distinguished in ILS with the higher the social status, the greater the use of the local vernacular forms. An exception to this was the next-highest group who employed them the least and this has been called underdiscorrection and interpreted to be indicative of sound change in progress. Finally, all groups were undifferentiated in WLS/QRS.

2. Age. Real time and apparent time evidence indicates that the variable (dh) is involved in sound change in progress in which the young are using the local vernacular features [z] and [d] more often than the old.

3. Sex. Women stratified differently from men by narrowing down the gap of their splitting from two groups in IIS to almost one group in ILS. Men, on the contrary, enlarged their social differences from being one group in IIS to three groups in ILS: i.e., UE-PE, SE, and NE. The underdiscorrection pattern of the SE was male-based. Concerning their role in language change, women took the lead in the use of the most advanced (i.e. local vernacular) forms in conversational styles spearheaded by the highest-ranking ones. However, all were equal in reading styles as far as their correction to the standard is concerned.

4. Style shift. There was regular stylistic variation. The use of the immigrant and/or standard feature [dh] was predominant and categorical in IIS and WLS/QRS

respectively whereas that of the local and/or non-standard features [z and d] was predominant in ILS. However, in the latter style [z and d] were predominantly disfavoured by the old group, the non-educated males and to a lesser extent by the secondary-educated males. All the rest favoured them, especially the women.

5. Area. This was unimportant for women in particular and qualitative for men in general where urban immigrants used the local forms more often than the suburban ones.

9.4 The Variable (th)

9.4.1 Introduction

The variable (th) has been studied by Holes (1981, 1983) in his sociolinguistic description of Bahraini Arabic. The Bahraini Arabic speech community is divided into two religious sects on the basis of their usage of (th). For the Sunnis, /th/ has a standard pronunciation [th] while for the Shiis it is mainly replaced by the non-standard variant [f] although this also occurs variably with [th]. The maintenance of the Shii-specific variant [f] varies with area and degree of literacy. Holes (1983:445) found that illiterate speakers, whether urban (.54) or rural (.84) favoured [f] over [th] while literate speakers disfavoured it (urban = .26, rural = .32). Rural speakers especially the illiterates favoured the non-standard form [f] the most.

As with his analysis of the variable (dh) mentioned above (9.3.1), the decrease in the usage of the variant [f] cannot be known whether it is due to the influence of standard Arabic through education, etc., or the locally prestigious Sunni speech. However, in a later re-analysis of his data (Holes 1986) on the variable (th), this can be seen as mainly due to education. More precisely, Holes (1986:44) split his informants into three groups: (i) 23 categorical [f]-users, (ii) 17 variable [f and th]-users, and (iii) 13 categorical [th]-users. All the categorical [th]-users and 12 out of the 17 variable [f and th]-users were literates.

In the analysis of our own data to be presented below, we will show how the immigrants are de-standardizing their speech in this particular instance under the influence of the local variety, DA.

9.4.2 This Study

9.4.2.1 The Variable (th) and Education

9.4.2.1.1 Presentation and Description of the Results by Education

The distribution of (th) by education and style is shown in Table 9.16 below.

Table 9.16 Percentages for (th) by Education and Style

1. IIS	[th]	[s]	[t]	No.
NE	89.26	00.00	10.74	149
PE	85.08	2.64	12.28	114
SE	88.56	0.96	10.48	105
UE	82.42	5.02	12.56	239

2. ILS				
NE	51.14	12.22	36.64	131
PE	19.80	13.86	66.34	101
SE	49.00	3.12	47.88	99
UE	17.00	17.00	66.00	176
UE*	00.00	34.00	66.00	147

3. WLS				
PE	100.00	00.00	00.00	
SE	100.00	00.00	00.00	
UE	100.00	00.00	00.00	

4. QRS				
NE	100.00	00.00	00.00	

Table 9.16 shows that the frequency of the immigrant and/or standard variant [th] and the local and/or non-standard variants [s and t] vary from style to style and from group to group. [th] is predominantly favoured in IIS and is categorical in WLS/QRS. The variants [s and t] are favoured in ILS by all groups in general and the upper one in particular. The university-educated local group (UE*) are categorical [th]-non-users. It can also be seen from the Table that of the two local variants, [t] and [s], the former is the more frequent.

9.4.2.1.2 Discussion and Interpretation of the Results

There is no social differentiation amongst the educational groups in IIS and WLS/QRS since in the former the standard and/or immigrant form [th] is the most predominant form for all and in the latter the only categorical form. But in the second speech style ILS, the social continuum splits into two larger groups, namely, the NE-SE, on the one hand, and the PE-UE, on the other, without any differentiation within each subgroup (only 2% in each case). Thus the higher the social status, the greater the use of the local and/or non-standard variants [s and d] with the exception of the next-highest group whose percentage scores are exceeded by those of the second-lowest group, the primary-educated (PE).

This exceptional speech behaviour of the next-highest group has already been encountered in our analysis of the three previous variables of this chapter (9.1.2.1., 9.2.2.1., and 9.3.2.1.) and which has been called undercorrection in designation of the fact that, although the secondary-educated participate in moving away from their immigrant and/or standard variants (i.e. correction and de-standardization), they do so the least (i.e. undercorrection and underde-standardization). In this particular case, the SE adapted their speech towards their local addressees exactly as much as the NE (38% each) as against 65% for the UE and the PE each. As with the other variables, undercorrection is an indication of sound change in progress which involves the retention of the immigrant and/or standard variant [th] in the face of the local and/or the non-standard variants [s and t].

While the social differentiation pattern is marked by its irregularity as in ILS above,

the stylistic variation pattern is quite regular. The immigrant and/or standard form [th] is predominantly favoured in IIS, categorical in WLS and QRS, and is generally disfavoured in ILS where it gives way to the local and/or non-standard features [s] and [t]. This sociolinguistic situation of stylistic variation is a clear manifestation of the influence of the addressee in conversational styles in particular where in immigrant-to-immigrant conversations the use of the immigrant form [th] is the rule while in immigrant-to-local conversations, [t] and [s], the local forms, win over.

9.4.3 The Variable (th) and Age

9.4.3.1 Presentation and Description of the Results

The distribution of (th) by age and style is shown in Table 9.17 below.

Table 9.17 Percentages for (th) by Age and Style

1. IIS	[th]	[s]	[t]	No.
Old	97.94	1.66	0.40	242
Young	85.66	2.64	11.70	607

2. ILS				
Old	96.40	1.80	1.80	223
Young	32.46	12.54	55.00	507

3. WLS				
Old	100.00	00.00	00.00	
Young	100.00	00.00	00.00	

4. QRS				
Old	100.00	00.00	00.00	
Young	100.00	00.00	00.00	

Table 9.17 shows that the old and the young are distinguished in conversational but

not in reading styles. Whereas in the latter both make categorical use of the immigrant and/or standard variant [th], in the former the young utilize the local and/or non-standard variants far more frequently than the old, especially in ILS. (It has to be noted that QRS scores are based on two instances in each case but the regularity of the pattern is evident, though.)

9.4.3.2 Discussion and Interpretation of the Results

A comparison of the results summarized in Table 9.17 above in which it is clearly shown that in conversational speech the young are moving away from their immigrant speech norm [th] towards the local speech norms [t] and [s] with Cantineau's (1936:18) record of pre-immigrant speech in which [th] was retained intact points to sound change in progress. Thus the underdiscreet pattern of the SE mentioned above (9.4.2) above is hereby confirmed. The fact that the local variants are almost exclusively associated with the young age group is a conclusive evidence that this linguistic change has taken place since 1967 under the influence of DA.

Finally, the old group, as has been demonstrated for every variable of this thesis, are, unlike the young, unable to accommodate to their local addressees as can be seen from their IIS and ILS scores in Table 9.17 above. This would lead us to conclude that, as far as the standard immigrant variables such as /th/, /dh/, /Dh/, and /J/ are concerned, the old group are mono-stylers who maintain more or less the same speech behaviour across all stylistic levels.

9.4.4 The Variable (th) and Sex

9.4.4.1 Sex and Education

9.4.4.1.1 Presentation and Description of the Results

The frequency scores for (th) by education, style and sex are given in Table 9.18 below.

Table 9.18 Percentages for (th) by Education, Style, and Sex

1.	IIS	[th]	[s]	[t]	No
NE	M	93.84	00.00	6.16	65
	F	85.72	00.00	14.28	84
PE	M	84.22	5.26	10.52	57
	F	86.00	00.00	14.00	57
SE	M	87.50	00.00	12.50	80
	F	92.00	4.00	4.00	25
UE	M	83.00	8.90	8.10	126
	F	82.00	0.80	17.20	116

2.	ILS				
NE	M	83.80	2.70	13.50	74
	F	8.78	24.56	66.66	57
PE	M	20.34	11.86	67.80	59
	F	19.00	16.70	64.30	42
SE	M	59.50	00.00	40.50	74
	F	10.00	20.00	70.00	25
UE	M	24.32	14.86	60.82	74
	F	11.76	18.62	69.62	102

3.	WLS				
PE	M	100.00	00.00	00.00	
	F	100.00	00.00	00.00	
SE	M	100.00	00.00	00.00	
	F	100.00	00.00	00.00	
UE	M	100.00	00.00	00.00	
	F	100.00	00.00	00.00	

4.	QRS				
NE	M	00.00	00.00	00.00	
	F	100.00	00.00	00.00	

Table 9.18 shows that the use of the immigrant and/or standard variant [th] and the local and/or non-standard variant [s and t] varies with the sex of the speakers across the various speech styles. Although [th] is predominantly used in IIS by both sexes, it is less frequent in the speech of women than men except for two cases in which the primary-educated and the secondary-educated women make more frequent use of it than men. However, it can be safely said that men and women are all equal in this matter judging by mainly the one or two percentage points of difference in their speech. In ILS women in every single case utilize the local variants more than men. And in WLS, all are equal. (No available data for men in QRS.)

9.4.4.1.2 Discussion and Interpretation of the Results

The social groups are differentiated only in ILS. And that the two sexes behave in opposite ways regarding their social stratification is the clearest ever this time. Women of all social groups are completely undistinguished from one another. Furthermore, the non-educated females are quite surprisingly the leaders in the process of language accommodation towards their local addressees which in all the previous cases has been led by the university-educated ones. (The fact that the primary-educated females are slightly separated (about 8%) from the rest is unimportant and is due to the fact that some of them were recorded with their children in their arms, something that would affect switching their speech behaviour as has already been referred to in several places in this thesis.)

Men have maximized their social stratification in ILS by dividing into three groups: the NE, the SE, and the UE-PE, so ordered according to the frequency of the local and/or non-standard variants in their speech. One can notice in Table 9.18 above that the primary-educated precede the university-educated men in their use of the local variants by about 4%. It can also be noticed that the underdiscorrection pattern of the SE referred to above (9.4.3) is male-centred. This underdiscorrection is quite noticeably small (27%) when compared to the amount of style shift obtained by the PE (64%) and the UE (60%) as a calculation of their respective scores in IIS and ILS in Table 9.18 above shows. The underdiscorrection pattern of the SE males gives further support to and confirms the patterns of hypercorrection and undercorrection already encountered at various points in Chapters 7-9 of this thesis.

In connection with their style shifting, both sexes of all the educational groups take part in it. In conversations between immigrants, the immigrant variant [th] is favoured by all, but in those between immigrants and locals, the local variants [s and t] are favoured except for the non-educated and secondary-educated males. Both sexes have manifested an equal use of the standard form in WLS and QRS.

Finally, as far as their language use in general is concerned, women have taken the lead in the adoption or acquisition of the local variants [s and t]. This was spearheaded by the non-educated females as can be seen from their ILS scores in Table 9.18 above.

9.4.4.2 Sex and the Old Group

9.4.4.2.1 Presentation and Description of the Results

The distribution of (th) by sex and style for the old group is shown in Table 9.19 below.

Table 9.19 Percentages for (th) by Sex and Style for the Old Group

1. IIS	[th]	[s]	[t]	No.
M	98.60	0.70	0.70	144
F	97.00	3.00	00.00	98

2. ILS				
M	97.36	00.00	2.64	151
F	94.44	5.56	00.00	72

3. WLS				
M	100.00	00.00	00.00	
F	00.00	00.00	00.00	

4. QRS				
M	00.00	00.00	00.00	
F	100.00	00.00	00.00	

Table 9.19 shows that old men and women are equal in their (near-)categorical use of the immigrant and/or standard feature [th] in conversational styles and in reading styles. (There is no data for the males in QRS.)

These results are in harmony with the previous findings, concerning the role of sex in the speech of the elderly.

9.4.5 The Variable (th) and Area

9.4.5.1 Presentation and Description of the Results

The percentage scores of (th) by area and style are shown in Table 9.20 below.

Table 9.20 Percentages for (th) by Area and Style

1. IIS	[th]	[s]	[t]	No.
Urban	84.72	5.10	10.18	216
Suburban	86.18	1.28	12.54	391

2. ILS				
Urban	24.50	13.24	62.26	151
Suburban	35.90	12.26	51.84	356

3. WLS				
Urban	100.00	00.00	00.00	
Suburban	100.00	00.00	00.00	

4. QRS				
Urban	100.00	00.00	00.00	
Suburban	100.00	00.00	00.00	

Table 9.20 shows that there are no differences between urban and suburban immigrants in all speech styles except the second in which the former make use of the immigrant and/or standard variant [th] less often than the latter.

9.4.5.2 Discussion and Interpretation of the Results

This 11% difference in favour of the urban immigrants is unimportant for women as has been the case with other previous variables. In fact, when the above results were analyzed by sex in IIS and ILS, suburban women, although they were lagging behind urban women by 4% in the former style as far as their use of the local forms [s and t]

are concerned, reversed this figure into their favour in the latter style. In the case of men, however, urban men preceded suburban men in ILS by 15% concerning the adoption of the local forms while both groups were equal in IIS ([th] = 87% and 86.12% for urban and suburban men respectively.).

9.4.6 Summary

The main points in the sociolinguistic analysis of (th) can be summarized as follows:

1. Education and Social Differentiation. Social stratification amongst the educational groups has emerged only in ILS where they were clearly split into two groups without any differences within each group. These were the lowest and the next-highest (i.e. NE-SE) versus the second-lowest and the highest (i.e. PE-UE). An underdiscorrect pattern for the next-highest group has been noted: an irregularity which was explained to indicate sound change in progress involving the retention of the immigrant and/or standard form [th] and shifting to the local and/or non-standard forms [s and t]. This latter shift was led by the highest-ranking group.

2. Age. The variable (th) is involved in sound change in progress where in conversational styles the young make far more frequent use of the local and/or non-standard variants [s and t] than the old and which were not attested in pre-immigrant speech.

3. Sex. The division of the educational groups by sex in ILS has shown that women totally lacked any social stratification amongst themselves where the non-educated women, for example, shifted towards their local addressees as much as or even more than the university-educated ones. Men were divided into three groups, namely, the NE, the SE, and the UE-PE. The underdiscorrect pattern of the SE was also male-based. And concerning their language use, women were found to take the lead in the acquisition of the local and/or non-standard features [s and t] in conversational speech but were equal to men in exclusively using the standard feature [th] in reading and recitation styles.

4. Style Shift. Stylistic variation was regular. While in WLS and QRS the use of the immigrant and/or standard form [th] was categorical and in IIS predominant, in ILS, this varied considerably. The old favoured it the most and it was also favoured by the

non-educated and the secondary-educated men in that order while everybody else, especially the women, disfavoured it and replaced it with [s and t], the local forms. The use of either dialectal variant depended largely on the linguistic character of the addressee.

5. Area. This was unimportant especially for women; urban men utilized the local and/or non-standard variants slightly more often than suburban men and in ILS only.

9.5 Conclusion

In this chapter it has been shown how all the four linguistic variables investigated, namely (J), (Dh), (dh), and (th), whose original phonetic realizations in immigrant speech coincide with those of the standard have been involved in de-standardization and dis-correction under the impact of local speech, DA. Although the rate of dis-correction varies from one variable to another in conversational styles, the overall rate of de-standardization is much faster and more intensive for these variables than for the previous ones of Chapters 7 and 8. For instance, a comparison of the use of the local variants for the variables (q) and (-k) (7.2.2 and 8.2.2.2 respectively) with those for (J) or (dh) (9.1.2 and 9.3.2 respectively) shows that in immigrant-to-immigrant conversations (i.e. IIS) the local forms of the first two variables were never or very negligibly used whilst those of the latter two variables were employed to a fairly good extent. To give an example, in our analysis of the variable (q) the local variant [ʔ] was not utilized at all by almost every social group in IIS whilst in our analysis of (J) the local variant [zh] was utilized about 42% of the time by the UE and 10% by the NE in the same speech style.

The reason for the differential behaviour of these variables in the first conversational style IIS is perhaps due to the fact that dialects are mostly known for their non-standard features which they consequently maintain longer and hold to stronger. This is because of the fact that the non-standard immigrant variables are characteristic of immigrant identity, immigrant language loyalty and immigrant group membership. The originally standard immigrant variables, although they still might characterize immigrant speech, immigrant identity, etc., are not as good indicators of immigrant identity as are the non-standard ones because, unlike the latter, they are shared with the standard variety. Since characteristic properties are essentially not subject to being shared or being in common

with two or more parties, immigrant speech can only be distinguished by and noted for those features that exclusively represent and occur in it. Therefore, using local variants in place of immigrant ones in the case of non-standard immigrant variables and to any noticeable extent in immigrant-to-immigrant speech exchanges would be a violation of those criteria and intolerable to and resisted by the immigrant speech community. The employment of local variants for originally standard immigrant ones would not be as much intolerable, to say the least. Consequently, we can rightly expect that the originally standard immigrant variables would fully de-standardize and change first.

The intersection of the linguistic variables – (J), (Dh), (dh), and (th) – and the social parameters of education, age, sex, area and style is summarized at the end of each variable. Here a general summary of these variables is provided.

1. Education and Social Differentiation. This differed from variable to variable and style to style. Social differentiation amongst the educational groups could only be seen in conversational styles. In IIS, there was either a split of the social continuum into the upper group versus the rest, as in the case of the variables (J), (Dh) and (dh), or no split and thus no social differentiation at all as in (th). In ILS, the social groups were distinguished more clearly but were variously divided into PE–SE, NE, and UE, as on (J), or SE, NE, PE, and UE, as on (Dh) and (dh), or NE–SE versus UE–PE as on (th). There was a consistent irregularity which has been repeated on all these variables and this was the underdiscretion of the next-highest group in ILS who moved away from the standard and/or immigrant forms towards the local and/or non-standard ones the least. This indicated sound change in progress which happened in the direction of the local vernacular, DA, away from the immigrant one, IGFA, in the forefront of which were the highest-ranking group, the UE.

2. Age. All the four variables are involved in sound change in progress. The change is carried out mainly by the young towards the local vernacular, DA.

3. Sex. women stratified differently from men by narrowing down their social differences to a bare minimum or lacking them altogether. For example, the non-educated and university-educated women were separated from each other in ILS by

10% on (J), 14% on (Dh), 11% on (dh) and 00.00% on (th). Men maximized their social stratification and divided into three groups on (J) – NE, PE–SE, and UE – , (Dh) and (dh) – NE, SE, PE–UE, or two on (th) – NE–SE versus UE–PE. The underdiscorrect patterns of the SE was male–based on all the variables. Finally, with respect to their language use in general, women led in the introduction of the local forms into their speech on all the four variables but were equal to men in their correction to the standard in WLS/QRS.

4. Style shift. The role of the addressee was very considerable in inducing stylistic variation on all four variables. In immigrant–to–immigrant conversations the use of the immigrant and/or standard features was the rule for all speakers. In immigrant–to–local conversations, the employment of the local and/or non–standard features was favoured by almost all educational groups especially the upper one. The next–upper group disfavoured them in almost all cases; the non–educated males and especially the old group never accommodated to their local addressees. Women of all educational groups accommodated more than men. Finally, in reading styles, i.e. WLS/QRS, the standard variants were categorical or semi–categorical in all cases for all informants.

5. Area. This was not important especially for women. As for men, urban men made more frequent use of the local and/or non–standard forms than suburban men in general, although all this was qualitative in most cases (about 10%).

Chapter 10

Conclusion

10.0 Introduction

The primary aim of this chapter is to pull the strands of this thesis together. In short, the main conclusions arrived at in the course of this work will be summarized and also the contributions of this study to the field of sociolinguistic research, especially in Arabic dialects, will be outlined. Finally, some directions for future research will be pointed out.

10.1 Summary of the Main Findings of This Study

10.1.1 Theoretical Findings

At the theoretical level, this study supports the variable model of linguistic analysis that was started by Labov (1963, 1966) and developed by Labov (1972a, 1972b, 1980), Trudgill (1974), etc. This model regards language variation as central to linguistic theory and analysis. It is founded on the belief that language is used heterogeneously and differently by its native speakers. Despite the wide differences in people's use of a particular language, these differences and variations are not unprincipled, free, random, or non-rule-governed. On the contrary, sociolinguistic research has shown that, subject to certain methodological and analytical procedures and principles, language heterogeneity is not only real but also principled and rule-governed. These principles and rules often take the form of social and stylistic constraints like socio-economic class, age, sex, ethnic identity, casual/spontaneous speech, formal/careful speech, etc. Labov (1969, 1972a) has tried to formulate the various aspects of language variation by rule and incorporate it into generative grammar but this has not been well received by sociolinguists and in fact has been criticised on a number of grounds (see J. Milroy 1982). (For a tentative attempt to incorporate language variation into stratificational grammar, see Herrick 1984, and another into word grammar, see Hudson 1984a and b.)

It has been demonstrated in this study how the immigrant speakers utilized the language continuum available to them variably. The immigrant language continuum, unlike that of New York City (Labov 1972a) and Norwich (Trudgill 1974), consists of three, though in some cases only two, speech varieties, namely the immigrants' own original dialect (IGFA) which they brought with them to the local (Damascus) community as a result of their evacuation from the Golan Heights in 1967, the local dialect (DA) which they have acquired after they settled and lived in the host new community, and the standard dialect (SA) with and from which immigrant speech and local speech converge and diverge. Below are given two examples that illustrate this point. In the first example (a) all three dialects are utilized and in the second example (b) two dialects are used:

(a) The variable (q) has four variants that set off all three dialects from one another. It is realized as [q] in the standard, as [ʔ] in the local variety, and as [g] and [j] in the original immigrant dialect. In their everyday conversations, the immigrants use two or all of the three dialectal variants variably. E.g.

/qa:l — ga:l — ʔa:l/ 'he said'

/qult — gult — ʔult/ 'I said'

/qabl — gab(u)l — ʔab(i)l/ 'before'

/qalb — galb — ʔalb/ 'heart'

/qarye — garye — jarye/ 'village'

/qali:l — gili:l — jili:l — ʔali:l/ 'little, few'

In all of the above words, [q] alternates with [ʔ] and [g], etc. Thus all three dialects are mixed with one another in immigrant speech.

(b.1) The variable (D) has two forms the distribution of which separate the standard and the local varieties, on the one hand, from the original immigrant dialect, on the other. It is pronounced as [D] in the former two dialects, and as [Dh] in the latter one. The immigrants employ both dialectal variants in their usual conversations. E.g.

/Duhr — Dhuh/ 'noon'

/Dau — Dhau/ 'light'

/Da2ak – Dhi2ak/ 'he laughed'

/Dimn – Dhimn/ 'within'

(b.2) The variable (J) has two alternants whose distribution separate the standard and original immigrant varieties, on the one side, from the local dialect, on the other. /J/ is pronounced as [j] in SA and IGFA and as [zh] in DA. The immigrants employ both forms interchangeably. E.g.

/ji:l – zhi:l/ 'generation'

/jabal – zhabal/ 'mountain'

/janne – zhanne / 'garden, Paradise'

/ja:r – zha:r/ 'neighbour'

In (b.1) and (b.2) the local dialect is variably utilized along with the immigrant dialect whether it agrees with the standard or not.

Thus the way in which the tri-dialectal continuum is utilized by the immigrants is in full harmony with what Labov (1972a:223–25; 1972b:82) called inherent variability. Inherent variation in speech is not the result of irregular dialect mixture, dialect borrowing but rather a property of speech itself. In the words of Labov (1972a:225), inherent variability lies in the fact that 'variation ... is not the product of irregular dialect mixture, but an inherent and regular property of the system'. Indeed this is exactly the way in which the immigrant speakers make use of the linguistic continuum available to them. It is used regularly, variably, and in an orderly fashion.

One of the interesting aspects of this research in this respect is the acquisition pattern of the local dialect as a second dialect and the mode of its use by the immigrants. This has been found to be variable and subject to the same rules and norms that govern first or normal language use (e.g. Labov 1966, 1972a; Trudgill 1974). As is shown in the examples above, the local variants are acquired and used variably and interchangeably along with the standard and original immigrant variants. Similar results were arrived at in works that were concerned with investigating how immigrants in various parts of the world adopt the speech patterns of their host communities, whether in children (Payne 1976, 1980) or in adults (Bortoni–Ricardo 1985; Kerwill 1985).

10.1.2 Analytical Findings

The main analytical findings of the immigrant study can be summarized as follows.

10.1.2.1 At the Linguistic Level

The linguistic analysis of the phonological variables in this work has revealed that phonetic and syntactic constraints cannot satisfactorily explain the alternation amongst linguistic forms or variants. The linguistic variation amongst the phonological variants was found to be lexical in the sense that the majority of words had two or more pronunciations regardless of the phonetic and syntactic environments in which the variables occurred. This analysis, therefore, can give support to the theory of lexical diffusion (Wang 1969, 1979, etc.) which views linguistic change in this way. The main results of this study in this connection were as follows.

(i) For all the phonological variables, namely (q), (D), (J), (Dh), (dh), and (th), the majority of lexical items were variably spoken. This ranged from 72% to about 90%, depending on variable. Very few items had completely changed forms or pronunciations and a small number of words (between 11–18%) were still unaffected by the change. The variable (k) deviated from this picture in which the majority of words (a little less than two-thirds of the data) were changed, about one third of the words variable and hardly any words unchanged.

(ii) The rate of the linguistic change was generally slow for all the above phonological variables with the exception of (k) again. The frequency analysis has shown that neither the most frequent nor the least frequent lexical items favoured the changed forms. However, on two variables, (q) and (Dh), the least frequent items tended towards less casual pronunciations than the more frequent ones whilst on three other variables, namely (J), (D), and (dh), all items of all frequencies were alike in disfavoursing the change. The variable (th) showed that the least frequent items were spoken more casually than all the other items of all frequencies.

The variable (k) was the only case in which all words favoured the change and the least frequent words did so more often than the most frequent ones. It has to be noted

that this analysis was based in this particular case on the variable words only.

Finally, the morphophonemic variable (-k) was found to be the only one variable in this work to be amenable to no linguistic constraints of any kind. Immigrant speakers used this variable either in its standard and/or local form or in its immigrant form depending solely on speech style. The two variants hardly occurred along with each other in any one speech style by any one single speaker.

10.1.2.2 At the Sociolinguistic Level

10.1.2.2.1 Social or Educational Group

The four educational groups that were defined for the immigrant speakers in this study changed their social differentiation patterns from style to style and from one linguistic variable to another. These groups were differentiated in conversational styles (i.e. IIS and ILS) but not in reading styles (i.e. WLS and QRS). In the latter styles, all social groups were more or less the same as far as their linguistic behaviour is concerned. In conversational styles, the educational groups defined their social ranks much more clearly in the immigrant-to-local style (ILS) than in the immigrant-to-immigrant style (IIS). The main results obtained in this respect can be briefly mentioned for each variable as follows:

(i) On the variable (q), the educational groups were divided into two larger groups, an LG (including the NE and the PE) and an MG (including the SE and the UE) in IIS but into four in ILS. In the latter style, social differentiation was irregular where the next-highest group employed the standard form more often than the highest-status one.

(ii) On the variables (k) and (-k) all the educational groups were alike in their speech and thus lacked social stratification amongst themselves.

(iii) On the variables (D) and (th), social differentiation patterns appeared in ILS only. The educational groups were divided into three groups (SE-NE, PE, UE) on the former and into two (NE-SE versus UE-PE) on the latter. In both cases, the next-highest group was irregularly stratified in ILS.

(iv) On the variables (Dh) and (dh) there was a split into two groups in IIS in which the highest group was separated from the rest by about 10% but in ILS, although

all the four educational groups were clearly divided into SE, NE, PE and UE, the former two groups were clearly separated from the latter two – i.e. a division into two groups. In both cases the next highest group was unusually stratified in ILS.

(v) On the variable (J), the immigrants stratified into three social groups in both IIS and ILS, though differently. In the former, they split into NE–PE, SE and UE, and in the latter into PE–SE, NE and UE. The next–highest group was irregularly stratified in ILS.

10.1.2.2.2 Age

The two age groups, namely, the young (20–30 year–olds) and the old (50+ year–olds), were set off from each other on all the linguistic variables in conversational styles but not in reading styles. In conversational styles, their separation was clearer in ILS than in IIS. More precisely, the old used the standard and local forms far much less frequently than the young group. In fact, the use of the local forms by the old group was in almost all cases non–existent. It was the young who employed the local forms, though variably. Therefore, the movement away from the original immigrant dialect towards the local dialect in particular is located and based in the young age group.

10.1.2.2.3 Sex

Sex patterns in this study varied from style to style, variable to variable, age group to age group, and from one educational group to another. Sex differences were mainly located in conversational styles. These differences were important for the young group but not for the old group who were more or less equal on all variables. Sex differentiation in the young group was clearer in ILS than in IIS. There have emerged two points with regard to sex differentiation by education and style in the course of this work. First, men and women stratified differently with the former expanding their social gaps while the latter minimizing or cancelling them. Secondly, the use of the local vernacular forms whether they conformed with the standard or not was led by women. The main results for all variables in this respect can be summarized as follows:

(i) Regarding their social stratification by education and style, men and women hierarchized differently from each other and this differed from variable to variable and

from style to style as follows:

- (a) On the variable (q), men and women were alike in ISS where they divided into two larger groups but in ILS the former maximised their divisions and split into four groups while the latter maintained their division into two as in IIS.
- (b) On the variables (k) and (-k-) there was no evidence whatsoever on the presence of social stratification for both sexes amongst all the educational groups.
- (c) On the variable (D), the sexes were stratified in ILS only in which men split into four social groups while women, especially at the farthest ends of the social continuum, were in practice the same.
- (d) On the variable (J), men split into four, though little-differentiated, groups in IIS and three largely-differentiated ones in ILS; women, although they maintained their split into two groups in IIS and ILS, reduced that considerably in ILS, especially at the extreme points of the social scale.
- (e) On the variable (Dh), the expansion of social differentiation for males is clearly seen in ILS where they split into three largely-separated groups; women were marginally separated into two groups.
- (f) On the variable (dh), although men were undifferentiated in IIS, they split into three groups in ILS. Women, who were split into two in IIS, were almost one group in ILS.
- (g) On the variable (th), while both sexes lacked social stratification in IIS, men expanded that and divided into three in ILS; women remained undifferentiated at all.
- (ii) With respect to their language use, the following patterns were obtained.
 - (a) On the variable (q), sex differences were unimportant in IIS, but in ILS women of all educational groups favoured the local vernacular form while men varied: some went for the standard form, some for the immigrant form, some for the local form depending on their social status.
 - (b) On the variables (k) and (-k-), sex differences were unimportant in general.
 - (c) On the variable (D), sex was unimportant in IIS, but in ILS women of all educational groups were ahead of men in the use of the local and/or standard form.

- (d) On the variable (J), women of all educational groups utilized the local form more frequently than men in both IIS and ILS.
- (e) On the variable (Dh), sex was unimportant in IIS but in ILS women of all educational groups used the local form more often than men.
- (f) On the variable (dh), women of all educational groups utilized the local forms more often than men in both IIS and ILS.
- (g) On the variable (th), sex was unimportant in IIS, but in ILS women of all educational groups were in the vanguard in the process of the adoption of the local vernacular forms and men lagged behind in every case.

10.1.2.2.4 Style Shift

All the linguistic variables that we investigated in this work were involved in stylistic differentiation. This was found to vary from one variable to another and from one social group to another. In general, conversational styles (i.e. IIS and ILS) were associated with the use of vernacular forms, whether local or immigrant, and reading styles (i.e. WLS and QRS) with the use of standard forms. More precisely, the immigrants were found to vary their language use in conversational styles according to the linguistic character and dialectal background of their addressees with whom they interacted: the characteristic immigrant speech forms were utilized in immigrant-to-immigrant speech exchanges, and the local forms in immigrant-to-local speech ones. In reading styles, the immigrants switched to the standard.

The main points arrived at in the sociolinguistic analysis of the linguistic variables can be mentioned briefly as follows:

- (i) On the variable (q), stylistic variation was regular. In IIS the immigrant forms were dominant for all educational groups, the two age groups and the sexes. In ILS, the immigrants shifted, though variably, to the local vernacular variants except for the old group and the non-educated young men who shifted almost not at all. Women shifted more than men. In WLS and QRS, all switched to the standard.
- (ii) On the variables (k) and (-k-), all the educational groups of both sexes and

both age groups, used the immigrant forms in IIS exclusively, but in ILS and WLS/QRS the local vernacular and/or standard forms were categorical for all immigrants except for the old group who did not shift in ILS at all.

(iii) On the variable (D), all the immigrants of all educational groups, both sexes, and age groups, employed the immigrant form in IIS predominantly. In ILS, the old group and the non-educated young men did not use the local variant while all the rest did shift to it and with women more than men. In WLS and QRS, the use of the standard form was irregular and reversed for all immigrants.

(iv) On the variable (J), the use of the immigrant and/or standard form was favoured in IIS by all educational groups of both sexes and the two age groups. In ILS use was made of the local vernacular form but it was not favoured except by the highest-status educational group. Women shifted more than men. The old group as well as the non-educated and the secondary-educated did not shift to it. Finally, in WLS and QRS, the standard form was not used more often than it was in IIS by most social groups.

(v) On the variable (Dh), the immigrant and/or standard form was favoured by all immigrants of all educational groups of both sexes and the two age groups in IIS. In ILS the local forms were favoured by almost all educational groups especially women. The old group and the non-educated men did not shift at all. In reading styles, the standard form was near-categorical for all.

(vi) On the variable (dh), the immigrant and/or standard form was predominant in IIS for all immigrants. In ILS, the local vernacular forms were favoured by almost all educational groups, especially women. The old group and the non-educated men did not shift to it. In reading styles, the standard form was categorical for all.

(vii) On the variable (th), the immigrant and/or standard form was favoured by all in IIS but this was reversed in ILS in favour of the local vernacular forms. Women favoured the latter forms the most. The old group did not shift in ILS. In reading styles, the standard form was categorical for all.

10.1.2.2.5 Sound Change in Progress

The linguistic variables were all involved in sound change in progress one way or another. This was of different kinds depending on the way of the intersection of the linguistic variables, social parameters and stylistic levels. The attested patterns were as follows:

(i) By Social Group. Three types of crossover patterns were noted all of which affecting the next highest group, the secondary-educated. All occurred in ILS and marked a divergence from the local addressee. The most obvious form of crossover pattern was that of hypercorrection on (q) in which the next highest group employed the standard form more often than the highest one. The second was undercorrection on (D) where the same group utilized the correct standard local form the least of all the social groups. This form was alternated with the non-standard, though covertly prestigious, immigrant form in a 50:50 sort of way. The third was underdiscorrection on four variables: namely, (J), (Dh), (dh), and (th). On all these variables, the non-standard local vernacular forms were not favoured over the original immigrant and/or standard features. The SE used these local forms the least of all those who shifted to them. All the above three types of crossover or correction—hypercorrection, undercorrection and underdiscorrection— were male-based only.

(ii) By Age. All the eight linguistic variables of this study were directly involved in sound change in progress as was revealed through comparing our age grading results with the historical record of pre-immigrant speech 50 years ago. The adoption of the local vernacular forms and the movement away from the original immigrant dialect in conversational styles was led in all cases by the young age group.

(iii) By Sex. The only variable which was involved in sound change in progress by sex was (q). In ILS, women of all educational groups favoured the local non-standard, though covertly prestigious, vernacular form whilst men were divided amongst themselves: some favoured the immigrant form, some the local form and some the standard form. The variable (J) was also involved in sound change in progress by sex in reading styles where females of almost all educational groups used the standard form less frequently than

men. For this they preferred the local non—standard, though covertly prestigious, form.

(iv) By Style. The only variable which was involved in sound change in progress of this type was (D). On this variable, all the educational groups, etc., had a reversed style pattern in which the standard form was far much less frequently used in reading styles than in ILS.

10.1.2.2.6 Area

The social parameter of area was found to be unimportant on almost all variables. For some variables, such as (J), (Dh), and (dh), there were some slight differences between urban and suburban immigrants but these differences turned out to be unimportant for women in particular.

10.2 Contributions and Implications of This Study

The achievements of this study fall into two parts: one in the field of sociolinguistics in general, and one in the field of Arabic sociolinguistics.

10.2.1 General Sociolinguistic Implications

10.2.1.1 Implications for Sociolinguistic Methodology in Immigrant Studies in Particular

In the field of data collection, previous immigrant sociolinguistic studies (Payne 1976, 1980; Kerswill 1985; Bortoni—Ricardo 1985) relied mainly in obtaining their speech data on interviewing their informants on the basis of structured questionnaires that were modelled on the standard Labovian framework (Labov 1966, 1972a; Trudgill 1974) despite the advances made in this direction that were reviewed in Chapter 3 above. This methodology is not without its shortcomings if applied wholesale to immigrant case studies like the present one. The reason is that the immigrants interviewed this way will be shown to have a limited range of stylistic variation which might have dangerous consequences on the de facto sociolinguistic situation. Some of these consequences are the resultant blurred picture of language shift and language maintenance on some variables since these variables, as we have seen in this study, behave differently in this respect, a behaviour that is often induced by the linguistic and dialectal character of the speakers and the addressees.

To isolate a wider range of stylistic variation for immigrants in this study, different procedures and methods were used. At the conversational and vernacular level of speech, since there were two colloquial speech varieties directly involved in the immigrant speech situation, two methods were used in order to elicit the different ways in which these varieties are employed, maintained and shifted. The two methods centred on the linguistic character and background of the speaker's addressees or audience. In the one case, an immigrant speaker and an immigrant addressee (usually the investigator) were recorded talking to each other on a variety of everyday topics with the main aim of investigating the extent to which the original immigrant vernacular was still maintained by the immigrant subjects. In the other case, an immigrant speaker was recorded talking with a local addressee from the host speech community in order to see whether there was a shift towards the local vernacular. At the formal level of speech, the standard form of speech was elicited through the ordinary medium of reading material, an established practice in the literature. The achievement of this study in this field was the recitation technique which was used to cope with the often insoluble reading problems of the illiterates, however. (For a full picture of these methods, see Chapter 4.)

10.2.1.2 Implications for Stylistic Variation and the Direction of Linguistic Change

Although there have appeared so far a number of studies that showed that stylistic variation at the conversational level can happen when people address other people, or that people can modify their speech in the direction of their listeners, these studies often portrayed a picture in which all style shift oscillated between the two points of the language continuum: i.e., the one standard and the one vernacular. Moving towards either end of the continuum depended on several relevant social parameters such as one's social standing, one's sex, etc. In this study, it has been shown how on eight linguistic variables the immigrants variably exploited a tri-dialectal continuum and how language shift was forced away from both the immigrants' own original dialect and the standard dialect towards the local vernacular of the host speech community.

Although previous immigrant sociolinguistic studies have confirmed the incidence of linguistic change away from one's own vernacular towards the host community's vernacular

whether this vernacular coincided with the standard (Bortoni–Ricaró 1985), or diverged from it (Kerswill 1985), these studies failed to show any but a limited spectrum of stylistic variation which was the adoption by the immigrants of the host community's vernacular elicited through ordinary interviews. A quantification of the addressee's effect in this study has shown that the acquisition of the local host speech forms increased and decreased depending on the linguistic background of the speakers and their audience. When the speaker's audience were immigrants, they decreased and when locals they increased. Indeed, had it not been for the fact that the immigrant informants were recorded with local audience, a very dim and blurred picture of the acquisition of the local vernacular by the immigrants and its influence on their speech would have resulted. Worse still, no social stratification would have emerged amongst the educational groups nor would there have been clear sex differences since most of these patterns turned up mostly and clearly in the speech styles in which the local addressee's effect was measured.

The second thing in the measurement of style for which this study can be noted was the recitation style which compared satisfactorily well with WLS. Although this style was limited in its scope by being administered to the illiterates only, there is no reason why it should not be adopted in similar studies for overcoming the illiteracy constraints that stand in the face of isolating the 'most' formal ends of the stylistic continuum.

10.2.2 Contributions to Arabic Sociolinguistics

This study is one of a few studies in the field of Arabic sociolinguistics and the first one to handle the problem of immigrant speech patterns in Arabic. Perhaps the major contribution that this study may be said to offer to Arabic sociolinguistics lies in the role of women in linguistic change. In previous studies of Arabic, women were either unrepresented at all or were found to lag behind men in the process of linguistic change which was effected towards the standard. In this study, at least two patterns were found: one was stylistic and one was social, stratificational.

At the stylistic level the two main findings were:

(i) old women were equal to old men in all respects whether in their use of their own original dialect, inability to acquire the local dialect, and ability to shift to the

standard in recitation style; and

(ii) sex was very important for the educational groups. The results could all be summarized in one principle: women of all educational groups outran men and led in the use of the most advanced forms, or the acquisition of the local dialect or shift to their local interlocutors. There were also several cases in which both men and women were equal.

At the social stratificational level, the main finding was: women of all educational groups stratified differently from men. The former had slight social divisions which they reduced, minimized and eliminated especially when talking to the local outsiders and/or addressees whilst the latter increased, expanded and maximised such divisions.

The second contribution that this study gives to Arabic sociolinguistics is the influence of vernaculars on one another in inducing linguistic change. Whereas the previous Arabic sociolinguistic studies described the course of linguistic variation and change to be in the direction of the standard, however dim this may be, this study has shown how linguistic variation and change can go in everyday speech situations away from the immigrants' original dialect towards the local dialect whether these dialects agreed with the standard or not.

10.3 Directions for Future Research

10.3.1 Directions for Future Sociolinguistic Research in Immigrants

Studies of immigrant speech have thus far been the exception rather than the rule in sociolinguistics. That is, almost all of the published and unpublished sociolinguistic literature, especially in the variable paradigm, was concerned with non-immigrant speech. Very few studies of immigrant speech patterns have appeared thus far. Therefore the need for sociolinguistic studies that focus on immigrants and how they adapt or change their speech patterns is a pressing one. The importance of studying the speech behaviour of immigrants lies in the complex course that linguistic variation and language change take which might be carried out in a greater and faster rate than the speech of long settled and stable communities. To survive in a host community other than one's own often demands changes and various sorts of adaptation. Needless to say, one's speech is the

first to be affected in such a situation, especially for long-term immigrants.

In investigating immigrant speech patterns, sociolinguists should explore several ways and methods for eliciting the various speech modes that the immigrants usually utilize in their everyday conversations whether with like immigrants or others. In this study it has been shown how the immigrants were able to shift their speech according to the linguistic and dialectal background of their audience: in talking with a like immigrant original immigrant speech forms were generally made use of and in talking with a local a shift to the latter's speech code was induced. Future sociolinguistic studies should explore whether in group sessions between immigrants and immigrants on the one hand, and immigrants and locals, on the other, language maintenance and language shift are affected to the same extent as in those sessions that involve two persons only, etc. In fact, emphasis should first go to the exploration of the latter type of group sessions — between immigrants and locals. In these sessions the use of and shift to the local dialect on the part of the immigrants might be less than in interviews or exchanges between two people: an immigrant and a local. There were some signs of this in the speech of the immigrants of the present study.

10.3.2 Directions for Future Sociolinguistic Studies in Arabic

10.3.2.1 Arabic Dialects at Large

Sociolinguistic studies of Arabic are very few indeed. Most of the Arabic-speaking world has not received the proper attention it deserves from sociolinguists. There are still larger areas on which no sociolinguistic data of any kind is available. Such areas include Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Iraq, the Yemens, etc. etc.

In almost every Arab city there are internal and external immigrants. Internal immigrants are citizens of the same country such as those who change residence from one area to another. External immigrants include Arab nationals from other Arab countries who have settled for job, work, etc in any one city. These immigrants whether from within or without often indulge in modifying their speech in the direction of the dialect of the country or city in which they live. The need for such studies is very pressing.

10.3.2.2 Directions for Future Sociolinguistic Studies in Syrian Arabic

Almost all of the Syrian Arabic situation is sociolinguistically virgin. Sociolinguistic studies are needed on every Syrian dialect especially on the native vernacular of Damascus City for which no separate and independent sociolinguistic investigation has as yet been conducted. Since Damascus City is drawing larger waves of internal immigrants from other parts of the country, studies of the language of these immigrants are also needed.

10.3.2.3 This Particular Case: IGFA

Future studies of IGFA can be improved in a number of ways. Amongst the viable and potential areas of research one can mention:

- (1) the investigation of syntactic and morphological variables such as the forms of the personal pronouns and the use of the present continuous tense.
- (2) the investigation of the ways in which different words are maintained, changed, or acquired especially words that are used without equivalents in the contact dialects.
- (3) the investigation of the speech patterns of children and teenagers.
- (4) The investigation of group sessions and their influence on language maintenance and language shift, etc.

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